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W. A. Foley

AN ESSAY
ON
THE HOLY EUCHARIST:
OR, A
REFUTATION
OF
THE HOADLYAN SCHEME OF IT.

BY
HENRY CARD, M. A.
OF PEMBROKE COLLEGE, OXFORD,
RECTOR OF UPPER SAPEY, HEREFORD, AND CHAPLAIN TO THE
DOWAGER VISCOUNTESS GAGE.

"Beware lest any man spoil you through Philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ."

Col. ii. v. 8.

"Μεγα κακοι αγνοουν γραφας."

Chrysost. Opera. In Act. Ap. Hom. 34, tom. 9, p. 265.

"Propterea errant, quia scripturas nesciunt; et quia scripturas ignorant, consequenter nesciunt virtutem Dei, hoc est Christum."

Hieron. Comment. in Matt. xxii.

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LONDON.

1814.



TO THE
RIGHT REVEREND
JOHN LUXMORE, D. D.
LORD BISHOP OF HEREFORD.

MY LORD,

ON finishing an Essay, humbly designed to serve the cause of religion and virtue, nothing could be more natural or more proper than the wish I felt of addressing it to my Diocesan. But though to lead men to just notions and conclusions on the nature and end of the Holy Eucharist, is merely in the attempt, an undertaking which may find pardon even for the efforts of the weakest understanding, yet I should never have presumed to ask permission of your Lordship to place your name at the head of these sheets, if I had not flattered myself, whether right or wrong, it is for others to determine, that they possessed some other merit, than the merit of intending well.

DEDICATION.

The prompt and friendly manner with which your Lordship acquiesced in my request, suffer me to say, much enhances the distinction you have thus conferred on me; for I must ever esteem that to be one, which allows me to inscribe any production of mine to the Bishop of Hereford. Others, my Lord, may admire in you, the urbanity of the Gentleman, so happily blended with the dignity of the Prelate, maintaining to all an unaffected civility and attention, yet never forgetting your elevated station, nor suffering others to forget what is due to it;—but that warm philanthropy, which gives you the good word of high and low, learned and unlearned, in your Diocese,—that strict impartiality, which makes zealous exertions in your Clergy the most sure and effectual recommendation to your notice,—and that earnest desire, so worthy the real christian and patriot, (but which is even more shewn by the force of your example, than the influence of your high station,) to promote the education of poor children under the admirable improvements of the Bell system, and thus to render them blessings, instead of pests to society,—these, I own, are the features in your Lordship's public character, which, did I not fear that this address might be thought by some to appear in a garb which adulation commonly assumes, I could expatiate on with the greatest complacency.

My Lord, he is a poor observer who, after counting up the heresies daily swelling into importance, does not see, that to despise orthodoxy, is not in the sentiments of a large portion of the community, to despise happiness. Its very name indeed, seems hateful to many, who *have no design* in wishing it to be so. No wonder then, that when so many thousands are blown about by every wind of new-fangled doctrine, that the

DEDICATION.

true idea of the Sacrament should be undervalued by that class of people, and a pretty numerous class they are, who from not looking beyond the surface of things, are easily dazzled and captivated with ingenious paradoxes.

But can they, who espouse the opinions of Hoadly on this subject, pretend to have in view, the supreme delight of doing good, when they must confess, that the very success of their principles would be highly detrimental to mankind: since, by depriving the Sacrament of its essential signification, they would deprive the devout communicant of a *sure anchor of hope* by which to hold, a *sure haven* where he can fly for shelter, in the distresses and afflictions incidental to human nature. Yet amid all the evolutions of religious opinions, and amid every strong propensity of the mind to rush headlong into the most shocking extremes, when unchecked by a firm conviction of the truth, *that the wisdom of God, is not our wisdom, nor his ways, our ways*,—it was surely, my Lord, never to be expected, that a Dignitary of the Church of England, in open defiance of a doctrine to which he so solemnly gave his assent, would put forth the following declaration, or that it would meet with supporters in those, who at all times profess to be *zealously affected* for the diffusion of genuine Christianity.

“ If ever the bread and wine are received, whether by the well, the sick, or the dying, as an appointed means of obtaining the remission of sins; or in any other light than merely as an act of due obedience to a positive command of our Lord, *naturally* expressive of faith in him,

DEDICATION.

and when seriously performed as *naturally* conducive to all such dispositions as that faith requires, *the participant is deceived, and the rite itself misapplied.*"*

No well-wisher to the true idea of the Sacrament, can read such sentiments as these without the deepest concern and indignation. If, therefore, I have occasionally expressed myself with warmth, I have only expressed myself as I felt. Moderation of language, however, my Lord, I take to be quite a relative term.—To speak then calmly, where we ought to speak strongly, in order to do any thing effectually, is not to be called, in my humble opinion, moderation, but indifference, which in a case like this, is a sort of treason to the Church. Yet, nevertheless, I trust, that in no one instance can it be fairly alledged against me, that in blaming cordially the opinions of Hoadly, and those trained up in his school, I have indulged that bitter spirit of bigotry, which destroys the feelings of humanity, steels the heart against the dictates of justice, and by consequence, disgraces the Establishment when it is most eager to protect its dearest interests. Stedfastly persuaded as I am of the truth of what I have been defending, I am aware, it is possible, I may be wrong. But if I have been mistaken in ascribing too much to the Sacrament, I have been mistaken in such a way, as to feel no apprehension of being called to a tremendous account for lending a helping hand to rob my fellow creatures of their greatest consolation in sickness,

* See Dr. Bell's Practical Enquiry, p. 30.

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pain, poverty, and death.—If I have erred, it has been in company with the Cudworths, the Taylors, the Warburtons, the Horsleys; names ever dear to those who, in all the various projected innovations of our religious constitution, are for sound learning and orthodoxy.

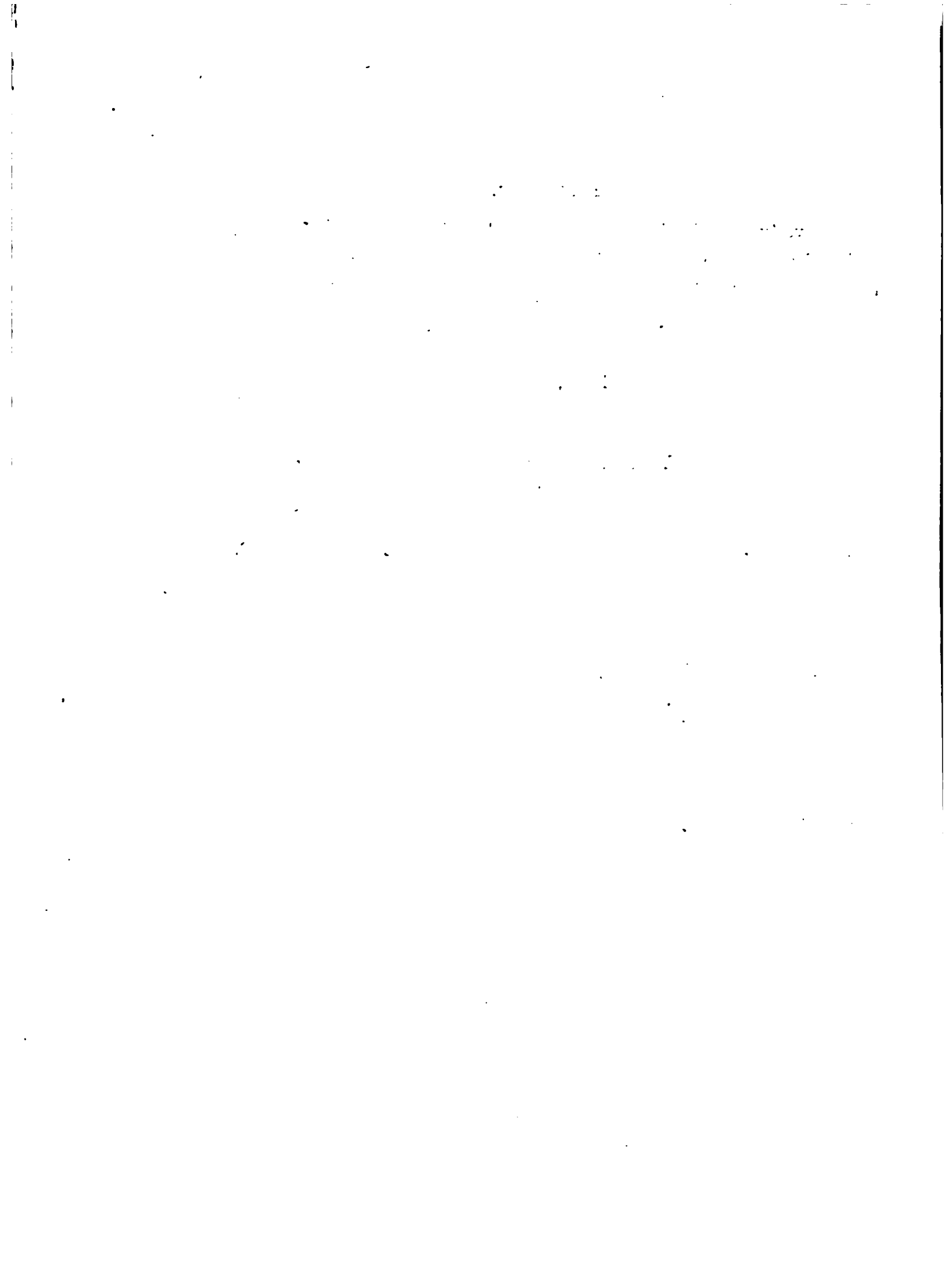
I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's much obliged and very
dutiful Servant,

HENRY CARD.

**UPPER SAPEY RECTORY,
June, 1814.**



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PREFACE.

THE following discourse owes its appearance to a circumstance which, perhaps in the opinion of some, will furnish the Author with the most justifiable reason for laying his performance before the Public. A much-respected friend of his was pleased so often to express his high sense of the merits of Bishop Hoadly as a profound Divine, and especially of his "Plain Account of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper," that he conceived it at last to be his duty to address him a letter on the Bishop's hypothesis, which, under the pretence of reducing the Lord's Supper to a greater degree of simplicity, and of freeing it from superstition, has exhibited in fact nothing more than those momentary glimpses of truth, which leave the traveller, from the casual light they afford, to wander in greater darkness than before, instead of guiding his footsteps in the paths of life and peace.

Now, though most polemical discussions, like political ones, are apt to end with the parties being more positive in their own opinions, yet, as truth was the only object the Author's friend had in view, and that he imagined most likely to be obtained by calm and rational investigation, the result was—a candid acknowledgment, on his part, that Bishop Hoadly, in excluding the idea of a feast on a Sacrifice, and confining us to the notion of a bare memorial, has abated the true comforts, shaken the best hopes,

and disturbed the *saving faith* of the Christian : while this admission was accompanied with an urgent request, conveyed however in terms too flattering here to repeat, that the Author would make public his reasonings on this momentous topic, as he was firmly convinced, that the opinion of a simple memorial is rapidly increasing among those who call themselves sincere members of the Establishment.

If that be true, it is indeed of incalculable importance to turn the people to a better way of thinking on this point ; and he who succeeds in thus opening their eyes, may be justly deemed to have rendered some service to the cause of religious truth. Nor is he to be considered as having failed the least in such attempt, though the positions brought forth by him for the elucidation of this sublime subject be not supported by new arguments, or recommended by new illustrations, provided he is able to clear those evidences, which are dimly and indistinctly perceived by uncultivated * minds, from every thing which tends to obscure their lustre. For prejudice and ignorance are fruitful sources of error and conceit, while they will always abound, as long as people shall presume to think that nothing more is necessary to qualify them for Scripture critics, than a superficial knowledge of the old and new Testament. From those prolific sources indeed, arise that variety of difficulties and objections, which are of weight only, because they are unexamined. Hence, the half-learned are more easily taken by a bold objection to established truths, than susceptible of the reasoning which supports them ; others, too, in a weak admiration of

* And cultivated ones also, are words which the writer might have been well justified in adding, "from a consideration," as Mr. Burke says, in his usual forcible manner, "of the fat stupidity and gross ignorance concerning what *imports men most to know*, which prevails at courts and at the head of armies, and in senates, as much as in the loom and in the field."—See Vol. 5 of his Works, oct. edit. p. 243,

their own sufficiency, are ever ready to fly in the face of the deliberate decisions of the greatest numbers, and of the most acknowledged learning ; and with an idiot-like simplicity to regard the mere dissent from general persuasions, as an instance of superior penetration, and vigour of intellect.

Among such persons, we are not greatly surprised to meet unlimited scepticism, where we expected immediate conviction, to discover prejudice, where we supposed liberality to exist, to see indifference pass for candour, wily sophistry for artless simplicity, arrogant mediocrity for profound wisdom, and, in short, to find " the Plain Account" ranked among the best productions of human reasoning by many within, and without the pale of the Church. Though at the same time it is more than conjectural, that not a few of those who now cry up the voluminous writings of the " Republican Bishop,"* as masterpieces of clear ratiocination and manly freedom of thought, would (if the Writer of them had died without a mitre on his head) discover in those *Socraticæ chartæ*, various positions founded upon false views, false facts, and false assumptions, calculated to produce no good in the first place, but likely to lead to the most mischievous consequences in future, and all owing to an ambitious spirit of subtle refinement, which prefers the exclusive praise of ingenuity to that of a sincere and devoted attachment to Truth: added to which, the most careless reader cannot fail to perceive that with all the Bishop's boasted love of candour and simplicity, he is as equivocal in his expression, as he is clear in his design, and that he has used, more than any other divine, the artifice too often detected in polemical controversy, that of changing the subject, and then arguing from it ; a mode of proceeding which will lead none to infer,

* The propriety of this epithet will not be disputed by those who have even looked into, much less attentively examined the Bishop's system of Church authority.

but his most bigotted admirers, that his mind was peculiarly exempt from the influence of error, or that he always combated with truth and reason on his side.

“The Plain Account” would then have been soon reduced to its proper dimensions, (for it appeared in an age when that canon *Si quis dixerit Episcopum aliqua infirmitate laborare anathema esto*, was a mere dead letter,) had not its author been at that time the great object of Whig idolatry; and the same circumstance which rendered those the loudest in praise of Hoadly, who took the least pains to ascertain the import of his conclusions, still prevents his book from being thrown on the shelf of oblivion; since there is as natural a connection between socinian doctrines and modern* whiggism, as between the Roman Catholic system, and despotism.—“The Plain Account” therefore is not popular from its own intrinsic merits, but from its alliance with the factious principles of a political party.

Now, though the Author of the following pages does not promise to the learned any striking novelty of proof on a subject which has exercised the powerful pens of a Cudworth, a Warburton, and a Cleaver; yet, if he should succeed in convincing those, whose minds are well disposed towards religion, and are somewhat opened by education, but who expect at the same time to be Christians without labour, study, or enquiry, (and such only be it remembered is he addressing) of the high and inestimable privileges annexed to the Sacrament,† (called so by way of

* That modern whiggism is but another word for rank democracy, is amply confirmed and illustrated in the celebrated “Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs.”

† The Scripture term *Μυστήριον* observes the learned Bishop Burgess in his valuable little Tract on First Principles of Christian Knowledge, 3d edition, p. 64, is translated *Sacramentum* in

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excellence,) but which, Bishop Hoadly, in his darling propensity to simplify and to decry all mystery, has thought proper to reject—he shall consider this Essay not to have been written in vain, and more real satisfaction will then result to him, than if he had been the most successful in the most popular species of composition.

We abound in admirable works on the evidences of Christianity. Never perhaps since the Apostles' days, was the general and substantial truth of its principles better understood. But as to doctrines, it is in vain to deny, that those of our Clergy who are the most celebrated for their talents or erudition, seldom introduce them either from the press or the pulpit. With the exception of that splendid luminary of our Church, a Horsley, and some few others, the number of great divines appear to be small indeed, who, in our days, have sedulously brought forwards and pertinaciously pressed in their writings, the genuine doctrines of the Church of England. Hence the followers of Wesley and Whitfield are furnished with the pretext for saying, (which from their proselytizing spirit it is to be taken for granted they avail themselves on every occasion,) that we have abandoned, shamefully abandoned, the true sense of our Articles, which they alone retain. Perhaps the learned and judicious in our Church regard those doctrines as strong meat, unfit for those who are "Babes in Christ," and therefore not to be mentioned with advantage at all times. But

the earliest Latin Versions. The word *μυστήριον*, however, expresses only the inward meaning of an emblematical action ;—*τα γὰρ μυστήρια κρυφίως γίνονται*. as the learned scholiast says in the Plautus of Aristophanes. But the word *Sacramentum* has a more extensive signification. I think Tertullian or some other Latin Father, calls the whole of Christianity, *Sacramentum*. And here by the way, those critics are clearly mistaken who derive that name from *Sacramentum*, the military oath of the Romans. Archbishop Secker in his Lectures, vol. 11, p. 208, seems disposed to give a classical origin to this word.

what is the consequence of this false discretion? Why plainly this—that an opening is thus made for a series of experiments on religion. The fanatic holds such language on those grand peculiarities of our faith, as equally to offend against morality and common sense; the Unitarian prunes them down to the standard of his own perverse and conceited reason, and dispirits as it were the life and vigour of religion, omitting one great fundamental doctrine after another, till he makes it nothing else but a mere dead skeleton of speculations and opinions; while we, in the endeavour to maintain a steady course of enquiry between the opposite errors, or from a scrupulous timidity about surmountable difficulties, are accused of being indifferent to every thing but our temporal interests—Such are the blessed effects of our fastidious reserve in this age of gross misconstruction and audacious innovation.

It remains only for the Author to add, that for the sake of retrenching many of those superfluities which are incidental to, and pardonable in a letter, he has thrown his thoughts into a more connected and didactic form; and that he has interwoven the substance of some digressions in Notes, which however would not have swelled to what may be deemed a disproportionate size, did not his opinions occasionally rest upon authorities, taken from such works as every one has not the opportunity of seeing.

Introductory Observations.

CHAPTER FIRST.

IT requires no great effort of sagacity to discover, that after the voice of reason has been long stifled between craft and credulity, the fruits of her speech are sometimes observed to be rashness and precipitation. At the Reformation, though one of the greatest periods of human improvement, there were yet those who, in the very days of that auspicious æra, seemed disgusted with every thing of what they were in possession, and who evinced an eagerness to throw down all that was ancient and venerable, for no other reason, than that it was old and established, and associated with the other parts of their institutions; whilst in this factious enmity to received opinions, and blind and headlong predilection for the mischiefs of false reform, it never once disturbed their heads, whether or not they were tearing up by the roots some of the best and happiest principles of our nature. This spirit indeed for innovation and change, and not for real reform, has descended to modern times, unimpaired, and unadulterated.

Whoever, for instance, has examined with attention and impartiality the disputes in the last century concerning the nature and end of the Holy Eucharist, will perceive but little resemblance in the theological controversialists of that time, with all their real or fancied skill in philosophy, to our first Reformers, whose zeal for the purity of the common religion;

(and it was such as must endear their memories to every true Protestant) while it testified the highest reverence for the substance of the system which they sought to amend, bespoke at the same time a most decided antipathy to all hasty, crude, and unqualified alterations.*

Now unquestionably, nothing can be well imagined less burdensome, or more simple than the external rites and ordinances of Christianity. And it is this beautiful simplicity with which they are characterized, that has induced, I must suppose, many good and learned men to assert, that the Sacrament ought to be considered as a bare memorial, or a mere positive rite.

I am persuaded, however, if they could have foreseen the mischievous

¹ Dr. Heylin, in his Introduction to the Life of Archbishop Laud, has thus justly described the views of our Reformers. "Nothing that was Apostolick or accounted Primitive, did fare the worse for being Popish; I mean for having been made use of in times of Popery, it being none of their designs to create a new Church, but to reform the old. Such superstitions and corruptions as had been contracted in that Church by long tract of time, being pared away, that which was good and commendable did remain as formerly. It was not their intent to dig up a foundation of such precious stones, because some superstructures of straw and stubble had been raised upon it." p. 3--4.—Similar to these sentiments are those of Laud himself. "In the mean time, I would have them ever remember, that we live in a Church *reformed*, not in one made *new*. Now all reformation, that is good and orderly, takes away nothing from the old, but that which is faulty and erroneous. If any thing be good, it leaves that standing."—See Wharton's Life of Archbishop Laud, p. 113.—Let the reader look into Wilson's History and Antiquity of Dissenting Churches, and he will be struck with the most marked contrast to this enlightened and liberal mode of reasoning in the conduct of the earliest dissenters, who held, "that the constitution of the hierarchy was too bad to be mended, that the very pillars of it were rotten, that the structure ought to be raised anew, and that they were resolved to lay a new foundation, though it were at the hazard of all that was dear to them in the world." Their chief error," he says, "seems to have been the uncharitableness in unchurching the whole christian world but themselves."

consequences since deduced from this opinion, that they would have laid it down with less latitude, and reasoned from it with more discrimination. It certainly never occurred to them, that it would afford scope to the sophister to treat the Holy Eucharist with sceptical insinuation, or the infidel to insult it with open disrespect; still less did it enter into their most distant contemplation, that it would prove so injurious to the great cause they meant to support, as eventually to be the means of extending the authority, and of illustrating the principles of the Socinian creed. Thus, while they piously intended to confirm and sanctify the faith of the Christian, and to overcome the prepossessions of the unbeliever, they only perpetuated hostile objections, and strengthened sincere but painful scruples.

Indeed, if the opinion of those persons on this subject, be pursued to its just and obvious consequences, it will go to overturn that grand and fundamental doctrine of our faith, the Divinity of Christ. For he must be little skilled in the science of Theology, who does not perceive, that by diminishing the dignity of the importance of the Lord's Supper, the truth of Christ's divine nature is virtually thereby, though not perhaps ostensibly invalidated.* Small therefore is the penetration necessary to discover, why the disciples of Socinus have been so profuse in their encomiums upon Bishop Hoadly's Plain Account of the Sacrament, and why to a defective scheme like that, has been given the name of christian faith, sufficient to salvation.

To doubt or explain away those doctrines of Christianity which are

* It is the remark of the learned and judicious Dr. Waterland, "that, in general, discussions which had for object immediately to lessen the dignity and importance of the Lord's Supper, were in reality designed as so many attacks upon the *Divinity of Christ*."

mysterious,³ or in which even the appearance of mystery is involved, as if our limited⁴ faculties were competent to judge of the plans of infinite wisdom, is well known to be the distinguished characteristic of Socinianism. It squares therefore with the tenets of the modern⁵ Socinian, who rejects as

³ The following observation, even of Hobbes, may be read with profit by the Socinian.—“We are not to labour in sifting out a philosophical truth by logic, of such mysteries as are not comprehensible, nor fall under any rule of natural science. For it is with the mysteries of our Religion, as with wholesome pills for the sick; which swallowed whole, have virtue to cure, but chewed, are, for the most part, cast up without effect.” See *Leviathan*, chap. 32, p. 195. It is somewhat curious, that while we are accustomed to rank the Philosopher of Malmesbury among the most determined champions of infidelity, that he himself should in a grave treatise “concerning Heresy and the punishment thereof,” have put forth this singular declaration.—“And in this time it was that a book, called *Leviathan*, was written in defence of the King’s power, temporal and spiritual, without any word against episcopacy, or against any bishop, or against the public doctrine of the Church.”—See this passage in *Somers’ Tracts*, vol. vii. p. 380.

⁴ “To go about to prove by reason (exclaims one who was an earnest advocate for the more evangelical doctrine of earlier times), what is above reason, is wonderful; and to discourse of what we understand not, is doubtless a spice of madness, and the conclusions we draw from such discourses, must needs be very dangerous, we following the *ignem fatuum*, the uncertain light of human reason in divine matters, so totally beyond our reach; wherefore we have no other safe way to speak of divine matters, but in scripture language.” See the *Naked Truth, or the True State of the Primitive Church*, by Herbert Croft, Bishop of Hereford, anno 1675, in *Somers’ Tracts*, vol. vii, p. 275.

⁵ It has been repeatedly said, that the first Socinians called Christ, God, and offered adorations, and to this circumstance we must ascribe Voltaire’s confounding so often the terms of Arian and Socinian. The fiend Persecution was abroad, when the heresy of Socinus first drew a secret congregation of disciples, and she made them hypocrites, instead of martyrs. Warned by the fate of Servetus, says Bayle, “Socin ne decouvrit ses pensées qu’en tems et lieu, et se gouverna avec tant d’adresse qu’il vécut parmi les ennemis capitaux de ses opinions, sans en recevoir aucune injure.”—*Dictionnaire Critique*, p. 2740. But though the judgment of the former Socinians inclined in favor of the simple humanity of Christ, yet it was reserved for their successors to consider him “as fallible and peccable as Moses, or any other Prophet.” See Dr. Priestley’s *Letters to Dr. Price*, p. 101.

incredible, impossible, and contrary to all reason,⁶ what the Churchman receives as the doctrine of Christ and his Apostles; it is perfectly consistent with the creed of this Sectary, which regards the author of the christian religion to be nothing more than a mere man,—to deny the idea of the sacrifice of Christ's death, as the admission of it would entangle him in the most perplexing difficulties. Bishop Hoadly then, by stripping the Sacrament of all efficacious grace even to the worthy receiver,⁷ and thus destroying all idea of atonement, satisfaction, or propitiation, since what are the benefits of these things, if Christ's death be not a real sacrifice? has in effect proclaimed his disbelief of the Divinity⁸ of Christ, and accordingly spoken a language which the artful Socinian will ever cite with approbation. While it is not to be mentioned without the deepest feelings

⁶ “ Il n'y a rien de si conforme à la raison que le desaveu de la raison dans les choses qui sont de foy.”—A remark of Pascal, which discovers all that comprehension of mind and depth of religious views for which the writings of this Author were so distinguished. “ Let reason,” observes another great man, “ be kept to, and if any part of the Scripture account of the redemption of the world by Christ can be shewn to be really contrary to it, let the Scripture, in the name of God, be given up. But let not such poor creatures as we, go on objecting to an infinite scheme that we do not see the necessity or usefulness of all its parts, and call this reasoning.” See Bishop Butler's *Analogy of Religion*, part ii. chap. v. p. 212, 213.

⁷ See *Plain Account*, p. 156. The whole passage here, though too long to be transcribed, is well deserving of attention, as strongly illustrative of the peculiar notions of Hoadly, on this sublime subject, and as symptomatic of his inordinate desire to have the credit of advancing something new, even at the hazard of unsettling the faith of many, and of exciting contentions among the wise and virtuous.

⁸ “ To deny the necessity of any particular communion, to expose the validity of the Sacraments, and rally on the uninterrupted succession of priests, and pull down every pillar in the Church of Christ,” are the daringly bold accusations made against the Bishop by the famous non-juror, Mr. Wm. Law. And yet from the sentiments held on these points by his Lordship, which

of regret, that the authority of the Bishop's name, has given weight and currency to his opinions in quarters where injured faith and insulted truth (I utter it with reluctance) might have reasonably expected the most formidable opposition.

Deeply impressed with the prevalence of an opinion, which lays the axe as it were to the root of all that is essential and peculiar in the Gospel, (for what is Socinianism but a mere religion of nature, a system of the best practical Deism) I know therefore of few undertakings more conducive to general edification, than to demonstrate, that the Holy Eucharist is a FEAST ON A SACRIFICE, as in this view of the matter, it is productive of benefits unspeakably great to the partakers, inasmuch as the privileges of pardon and sanctification are annexed to it. Though when I consider the commanding powers, and polemical acuteness of those⁹ who have stood forth

were too plainly expressed to be mistaken, too broadly marked to elude investigation, there is too great reason given for his antagonist to think, that he was silent, because he could not possibly maintain his ground. See W. Law, in his answer to the Bishop of Bangor's (Hoadly's Sermon) p. 17, &c. &c.—Certainly the remark of St. Cyprian will not be found to hold in the present instance. *Si quis cum Episcopo non sit, in ecclesia non esse.* Epist. 69.

⁹ It would be suspicion, or folly past comprehension, to be doubtful of such men as Archbishop Herring and Bishop Lowth, being zealously affected to the best interests of the Established Church. Yet the former has not scrupled to say, "that he really thought the Plain Account a good book, and as to the Sacrament in particular, as orthodox as Archbishop Tillotson." Letter to Mr. Duncombe.—While the latter prelate is well known to have adopted the opinion of his patron Hoadly. See Sturges's Reflexions on Popery, 2d edit. p. 234.—Bishop Pearce, Dr. Sykes, and Dr. Bell seem also to think, that where mystery begins, religion ends. For some forcible observations on the effects which the writings of these last-mentioned Divines have had in producing a neglect of the Sacraments, see Dr. Knox's Considerations on the Last Supper, p. 14-20. A work which Bishop Horsley justly said, was no inconsiderable monument of the learning and piety of the writer. See charge to the Diocese of Rochester, p. 163.—From the similarity of

as the advocates for a bare memorial, it is with more inward modesty than will be guessed at from some of the foregoing remarks, that I attempt to confute their opinions. But no ability can overcome plain truth and clear testimony. Modesty here is not therefore to be construed into doubt; for having bestowed no ordinary attention on the grounds on which my judgment rests, I am as firmly convinced, whatever may have been the purity of intention in those who have espoused the opinion of a bare memorial, that they have been guilty of a gross deviation from the true faith in this particular point, as that I am satisfied, that in their scheme of the interpretation of the Sacrament, they have robbed the communicant of much real comfort, and, by consequence, deprived him of no small part of its benefit. How offensive this language may be to those who lend their credit to the bold hypothesis of the Bishop, I can easily anticipate; yet I can never bring myself to alter my opinion from the dread of being thought to possess the heated and prejudiced mind of a theological disputant, or for the sake of obtaining what, by a wretched courtesy of language, is called liberality¹⁰ of sentiment, which is nothing more than

sentiment between this Author and myself on the nature and end of the Sacrament, the attentive reader may, in one or two instances, trace a similarity of expression. But I have not for this reason been tempted to use the angry exclamation of the old Grammarian, *Percant, qui ante nos nostra dixerunt*! since, I am not a little pleased to find my opinions supported by so able a writer, whose work, however, did not come into my hands till mine was ready for the press.—Neither had I the benefit of reading Bishop Cleaver's masterly discourses on this subject, before I had fully committed my thoughts to paper; till I had, to borrow the quaint expression of the Abbé Trublet, "*achevé de les penser*."

¹⁰ "The temporising Christian," says an eloquent and profound Writer, "who, under the mask of liberality, surrenders the fundamental doctrines of his creed, and the imposing Rationalist, who, by the illusions of a factitious resemblance endeavours to substitute philosophy for the gospel, are enemies even more to be dreaded than the declared and systematic Deist. The open attacks of the one, directed against the Evidences of Christianity, have but served to strengthen

a perpetual eagerness to fritter away the efficacy of the stupendous sacrifice offered by the Redeemer of mankind.

Previously however to my endeavour to ascertain the true design and end of the Holy Eucharist, it will be highly requisite to exhibit at the outset a statement of the opinions of the Fathers and Reformers on this subject, since I have been frequently astonished at the degree of culpable ignorance manifested here among those who have expressly come forward to illuminate the public understanding in the character either of teachers or historians of the christian faith. For while some¹¹ have contended that those divine men, the Fathers, favoured the doctrine of Transubstantiation, others¹² have attempted to prove, that Hoadly's scheme was to be traced up to those high authorities. It is of essential importance therefore to show, that whilst they acknowledged the doctrine of a real presence, they were as utter strangers to the notion of Transubstantiation, as to that of

the great outworks of our faith, by calling to its aid the united powers of its adherents ; whilst the machinations of the others, secretly employed against the *Doctrines* of our Religion, threaten, by eluding the vigilance, and lulling the suspicions of its friends, to subvert through fraud what had been found impregnable by force." See Dr. Magee's Discourses and Dissertations on the Scriptural Doctrines of Atonement and Sacrifice. Prefatory Address, p. xiii. xiv.

¹¹ In the Disputations at Oxford, for instance, where those heroes of intellect, Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley so signalised themselves, the Papists often appealed to the authority of the Fathers in support of the doctrine of Transubstantiation. It is a great mistake therefore to suppose, as we find it represented in several common books, that the Papists were shy of quoting the Fathers on this point. Indeed it is one of the principal objects of the learned Daillæus's Work, *De Usu Patrum*, to show, that they prided themselves too much on the supposed agreement of the Fathers with their opinions.

¹² See a curious Tract, entitled, *Hoadly and the Fathers Compared*, London, 1764, p. 16 -- 24.

a simple memorial. And though the mere refutation of those errors, so zealously propagated under the supposed sanction of their authority, must occupy a long space, yet still it is an indispensable task, as otherwise I could not hope to engage that attention to the sequel of these discussions which I could wish, without first removing the stumbling blocks which ignorance or craft has thrown in the way of the honest and impartial enquirer after truth.

CHAPTER SECOND.

A concise View of the Opinions of the early Fathers respecting the Holy Eucharist.

IN the thirteenth century after the death of Christ, Pope Innocent III. obtained one of the most memorable triumphs over the common understandings of mankind, by establishing the doctrine of Transubstantiation,¹ or the invisible change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. The man, however, who was not afraid to excommunicate two Emperors, a King of France, a King of England, and to trample on the right of mankind by founding the Inquisition, all which that daring Pontiff

¹ The discovery of this doctrine, and the invention of its name, are variously ascribed to Stephen, Bishop of Autun, and to the celebrated Paschasius Rathbertus, a French Monk, who had afterwards, as a reward, perhaps, for this matchless discovery, the magnificent German abbey of Corbie, with the sovereignty annexed. Vide Albertinus de Eucharistia, lib. iii. p. 969, Bellarmine de Script. Eccles. p. 188, and Cave, Hist. Litt. Art. Paschasius, vol. ii. p. 504. But the honour of establishing this unparalleled doctrine is with the greatest propriety and truth to be assigned to Innocent III. who in the fourth general Lateran council held in the year 1215, enforced it as a necessary article of Christian faith !!!

did,² felt little scruple or dismay we may suppose at violating the true faith of the Church, by the introduction of a tenet which contradicts the evidence of our senses, of our sight, of our feeling, and of our taste.³ But not content with hurling the spiritual thunders⁴ of the Vatican against those who hesitated to acknowledge as an article of their faith, a doctrine which defies at once all the powers of argument;⁵ he called also in aid of

² See Bower's History of the Popes, vol. vi. p. 187—190—198—201; and Histoire des Papes, tom. iii. p. 119, &c. &c.

³ If the evidence of ecclesiastical history had not afforded us such repeated instances of the reason of mankind being completely subdued by the pontiffs of those times, one should have wondered how they could have embraced so preposterous a tenet, for a right faith in God;—"but this was an extravagance," to borrow the strong words of Dr. Middleton, "reserved for Popery alone; and what an old Roman could not but think too gross, even for Egyptian idolatry to swallow, is now become the principal part of worship, and the distinguishing article of faith in the creed of modern Rome." Letter from Rome, p. 179, 180. "Nous recevons donc Jésus Christ dans l'Eucharistie, mais avec le pain et le vin; et si l'on admet une autre *Transubstantiation* que celle qui se fait aux yeux de la Foi, on admet une opinion absurde, qui'il est impossible de maintenir sans contredire les maximes les plus évidentes de la raison, les impressions constantes de nos sens et les principes de nos lumières naturelles." This, perhaps, is almost the only passage which an orthodox protestant divine can quote with unqualified approbation in M. le Courayer, sur la Divinité de Jésus Christ, p. 34.

⁴ See Bower's History of the Popes, vol. vi. p. 209—213.

⁵ *Hoc est corpus meum*, are the words upon which the Papists make their firmest stand for believing in the prodigy of Transubstantiation, whenever they are required to prove that doctrine from the volume of inspiration. These they cry out are plain words—yes, they certainly are, for they are a plain figure. When the Apostles received from their Lord the sacred elements accompanied with the words in question, should we have regarded them in their senses, if they had proclaimed their implicit belief that they were eating that identical person, who after the ceremony still remained entire and unchanged before them?—If we wanted to shew the error of not taking words figuratively, where a manifest absurdity would follow from adhering to the literal sense, we

it, the pens of sage doctors and skilful commentators. However, as it might easily have been predicted, the more they wrote, the less they comprehended. Finding themselves thus unavoidably involved in darkness, perplexity, and contradiction,⁶ they at last had the matchless effrontery to declare, that Transubstantiation was to be clearly traced up by general tradition to the age of the primitive Christians. Nay, some of these writers

should here ground our arguments. According to this plan of rejecting metaphor we have a right to conclude, that when Christ calls himself the vine and the door, the Papists fully believe, he really was a vine and a door. Yet, to use the simple expression of Lady Jane Grey, in her conference with Feckenham, Abbot of Westminster, on the Sacrament, "Christ is never the more the door nor the vine, for doth not St. Paul say, he calleth things that are not, as though they were." See Foxe's Martyrs, or Acts and Monuments of the Church, vol. ii. p. 122. Again, the abettors of Transubstantiation will surely not pretend to forget, that the Apostles, at their first Council, forbade blood and suffocation—Would they then forbid blood, and yet enjoin the eating of blood? Scarcely less absurd would it be to suppose, that they first sanctioned the horrid idea of cannibalism, and then afterwards renounced it. Seeing therefore to what extravagant and nonsensical conclusions the belief of Transubstantiation may lead men, there is not so much cause for wonder at this declaration of the heathen philosopher Averroes, "I have enquired into all religions, and found none more foolish than that of the Christians, who with their own teeth devour the very God whom they adore." See Bayle Dictionnaire Critique, p. 417.

⁶ ——"They stuffed our theologie rather with the quick inventions of human speculations and philosophy than with the wholesome words of holy scripture, exactly considered and expounded, whereof there is a great ignorance amongst us." See "A Declaration of the Reasons which moved Marcus Antonius de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro, &c. &c. to depart from the Romish Religion and his Country," in Somers' Tracts, vol. ii. p. 23. Indeed, to their many verbose folios on Transubstantiation, may be applied the *loquentiæ satis, sapientiæ parum* of Sallust. Even Bellarmine, with all the resources of his ingenuity, is here quite embarrassed and confounded in the vain attempt to reduce his definitions to scripture, reason, or tradition. For the truth of this observation, read particularly Lib. iii. de Sacramento Eucharistiæ. It was about the middle of the eleventh century, that Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, first brought this unscriptural doctrine into England: See Foxe's Martyrs, vol. ii. p. 457. Some papist Writers, I am, however, aware, have insisted upon its being held by the Saxon church. But granting it to have been the religion

of the Romish Church, having recourse to that tradition⁷ which they so idolized, as even to place it as a test of truth in many instances above the Scriptures themselves, went so far in the present one, as to fix the precise time when this monstrous doctrine was conveyed to the Christians of the first age;⁸ while others of that class, resolved not only this point, but the whole of religion into an implicit faith of the infallibility of the Pope.⁹

The first, then, of the ancient christian writers to whom I shall refer

of Dunstan and Odo, it could not have been that of the people at large, as we may judge from the following extract of an homily in that period, published by the learned Matthew Parker, the first Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, who found time amid his various professional duties to become a good Saxon scholar and an antiquary. "Much is betwixt the Body Christ suffered in, and the Body hallowed to Housell (the Sacrament) this latter being only his ghostly body gathered of many cornes, without blood and bone, without limb, without soule, and therefore nothing is to be understood therein bodily, but all is to be ghostly understood."

⁷ "Popery," observes one who seems to have well understood its true genius, "that overloads men's consciences with heavy burdens of infinite unnecessary traditions, far more than ever Moses commented upon by all the Jewish rabbins, imposing them with no less authority, and exacting them with more rigour, than any of the royal laws of their Maker." See Somers' Tracts, vol. viii. p. 184.

⁸ Vide Roma irreconciliabilis, Par, 1621, cap. xx.

⁹ The learned Isaac Casaubon, speaking of a devoted slave of the Papal court, observes, "Omnia *Baronius* probat, omnia tuetur, et quidem pari contentione omnia." After noticing the artful brevity with which the Cardinal passes over the institution of the Lord's Supper, he thus continues, "Olim fuisset hoc valde mirum; nunc aliter vivitur, postquam Romæ semel constitutum est veri rectique normam in causa religionis esse non verbum Dei, non antiquitatis consensum, sed Ecclesiæ, hoc est, *unius Papæ infallibilitatem*. Vide Exercitationes xvi. Ad Annal. Eccles. Baronii. Genevæ, 1563.

in proof of the foregoing assertion, that they were as utter strangers to the notion of Transubstantiation¹⁰ as to that of a simple memorial, is Justin Martyr, who lived about eighty years after the time of the Apostles. In discoursing of the Eucharist, he uses this expression. "We do not receive these, the blessed wine and bread, as common bread, or common drink; for as by the word of the Almighty, Jesus Christ, our Saviour, being made flesh, had both body and flesh for our salvation, so we are taught that that food by which our body and flesh are nourished, by its change being blessed by the word of prayer which he gave us, is both the flesh and the blood of the incarnate Jesus."¹¹ But assuredly it would be a very hasty and erroneous inference from this expression, *it is not common bread and wine*, to deduce the conclusion, that it was not so still in substance; since from his illustrating it with the incarnation, in which the human creature did not lose nor change its substance in its union with the Eternal Word, Justin evidently shows, he thought not the bread and wine lost their substance when they became the flesh and blood of Christ.

The next of the primitive Fathers, to whose testimony I shall appeal on this subject, is Irenæus, the contemporary of the blessed martyr Polycarp, who was a disciple of St. John. In a professed treatise against the

¹⁰ In scrutinizing the learning and piety of the ecclesiastics of Rome, the Archbishop of Spalatro takes occasion to say, "I did observe the sayings of the Fathers in very many things contrary to the common doctrine, which I had learned in the schools; and I did perceive that they were either passed by in silence by my masters, or not faithfully alledged, or not sufficiently, or which is worse, sinoustrously expounded." See Somers' Tracts, vol ii, p. 23.

¹¹ "ὁ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον, οὕτως κοινὸν Πομα, ταῦτα λαμβανόμεν. ἀλλ' οὐ τροφὴν διὰ λόγον διὰ σαρκωποιουμένου Ἰησοῦ οὕτως ἡμῶν, καὶ σαρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σντηρίας ἡμῶν ἔχον, ὡς καὶ τῇ δι' οὐχὺς λόγῳ τε παρ' αὐτοῦ ευχαριστοῦσιν τροφὴν, οὗ ὡς αἷμα καὶ σαρκεὶς κατὰ μεταβολὴν τροφὴν ἡμῶν, οὕτως τε σαρκωποιουμένου Ἰησοῦ καὶ σαρκα καὶ αἷμα ἰδιδεχόμεν εἶναι." Apol. 1 Edit. Thirlb. Londini, 1722.

complex and almost incoherent system embraced by the Valentinians, he thus overthrows their hypothesis of the true and supreme Deity not being the creator of the world, and of their denial of the resurrection of the body by arguments drawn from the Eucharist. "If there¹² be another creator of the world than the Father of our Lord," says he, "then our offering creatures to him, evinces him to be covetous of that which is not his own, and so we reproach rather than bless him:"—While he adds, "how does it appear to any of them, that that bread over which thanks are given is the body of his Lord, and the cup of his blood, if he be not the son of his Creator." And in reply to their heresy on the latter point, he observes, "that bread which is of the earth, having had the invocation of God over it, is no more common bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two things, an earthly and an heavenly: so our bodies are no more corruptible, having the hope of resurrection."

The pious and eloquent Bishop of Constantinople, the celebrated Gregory Nazianzen, delivered the sentiments of every Father of the Greek Church of the age in which he lived, and in that before him, when he said, "that the bread is at first but common bread, yet when once it is sanctified by the holy mystery, it is called the body of Christ."¹³

A similar distinction is to be found in the famous Epistle of Chrysostom

¹² *Adversus Hæreticos*, Lib. 14, cap. 34. The five books of Irenæus exist only in barbarous Latin; which version, according to the probable computation of Dodwell, was not published till some time after the year of Christ 385. Vid. *Diss. Iren.* num. 9, 10. It is the conjecture however of Mill that it was made in the life-time of the holy Father. Vide *Prologm*, 603.

¹³ *De Baptismo Christi*, tom iii. p. 369.

to the monk Cæsarius, when exposing the heretical system of Apollinaris.¹⁴ "As before the bread is sanctified, we call it bread," exclaims the Saint, "but when the divine grace has sanctified it by the mediation of the Priest, it is freed from the name of bread, and is thought worthy of the name of the Lord's body, *though the nature of bread remain in it*; but it is not said there are two bodies, but one body of the son; so here the divine nature being joined to the body, together make one son, and one body."¹⁵

"Whose master error was," says the learned Cave, "that our Lord assumed a body without a human soul, his Divinity immediately supplying the place of it; which he afterwards mollified by granting, that he had a soul, but without mind or understanding." *Lives of the Fathers*, vol. 1, p. 312.

¹⁵ "Sicut enim antequam sanctificatur panis panem nominamus, divina autem illum sanctificante gratiâ, mediante Sacerdote, liberatus est quidem appellatione panis, dignus autem habitus est Dominici Corporis appellatione, *etiamsi natura panis in ipso permansit*, et non duo corpora sed unum corpus filii prædicatur, sic et hic Divina *ὑπόστασις*, id est inundante corporis natura, unam filium, unam personam, utræque hæc fecerunt." It is well known to the erudite, when this passage was first produced by Peter Martyr, that Cardinal Perron, and others, were so oppressed by the insuperable weight of it, that they had no other alternative but boldly to pronounce it an interpolation. Proficients, however, as they proved themselves in the science of evasion upon so many critical occasions, yet this manœuvre failed completely of success, even with those whose judgments were in other respects biassed, or rather blinded by their partialities. For Bigotius, a learned French Papist, who had twelve years before brought a copy of this passage and the whole epistle from Florence, "resolved," says Archbishop Wake, "to ruin all the endeavours of these men, by publishing the very epistle which the Cardinal had so loudly declared to be a forgery, and proving it indeed to be the genuine offspring of St. Chrysostom; and this he accordingly with great sincerity performed. Ann. 1680." But though the whole edition was suppressed by some of the Doctors of the Sorbonne, yet Le Moyne published it again in Latin among his *Varia Sacra*; and Archbishop Wake having procured the sheets in Bigotius's edition of Palladius, caused this memorable passage also to be published.—The curious may see a full account of this transaction in Wake's *Defence of the Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of England*, p. 142, &c. &c. Still the Papists continue to assert, that the passage in question is not genuine, though every material point in it is supported by such a mass of authentic document;

But of all the great doctors of the Greek and Latin Churches of the first six ages, none has delivered sentiments respecting the Eucharist more free from any corporal signification than St. Austin.¹⁶ In one of his homilies to those who were recently baptised, he observes, speaking of the sacrament, "that which you see is the bread, and that the cup which your eyes witness; but what your faith requires to be instructed in, is, that the bread is the body of Christ, and the cup is his blood." Then he proposes the objection how could that be? and he answers it thus. "These things, my brethren, are therefore called sacraments, because in them one thing is seen, and another understood. That which is seen has a bodily appearance, that which is understood has a spiritual fruit." Again, the same luminary of the Church, in laying down rules by which we are to judge what expressions in Scripture are figurative, and what are not, proceeds to say, "If any"¹⁷

for to admit it to be so, say they, is to make the good father contradict himself in many of his expressions, and particularly in that noted one, "of the lips being tinged with the blood of our Lord." But between the popular discourses and the reasoning ones of the pious Archbishop of Constantinople, we must make a wide distinction. Of the latter kind is the address to Cæsarius. But, independently of this consideration, where an expression may be taken in two senses, I know of no canon of criticism which obliges us to prefer the most forced to the most natural. What acknowledgment then is there of the corporal Presence, in saying, that the lips were tinged with the blood of Christ, when it is quite obvious that if we drink the blood of Christ, our lips *must necessarily* be tinged by it.

¹⁶ "Quod ergo videtis, panis et calix, quod vobis etiam oculi vestri renunciant. Quod autem Fides vestra postulat instruenda, panis est corpus Christi, calix sanguis Christi—Quomodo est panis Corpus ejus. Et calix, vel quod habet calix, quomodo est sanguis ejus. Ista, fratres, ideo dicuntur Sacramenta, quia in ejus aliud videtur, aliud intelligitur. Quod videtur, speciem habet corporalem; quod intelligitur, fructum habet spiritalem." This passage, though not extant now in the works of St. Austin, yet is preserved by Fulgentius and others. Vide De Bapt. Æthiopis, cap. ii. & Beda in 1 Corinth. 10.

¹⁷ De Doct. Christ. lib. iii. cap. 16.

place seem to command a horrid action, it is figurative," and as an exemplification of his meaning, he cites these words, *Except you eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of Man, ye have no life in you.* "Which" adds he, "seems to command some crime or horrid action; and therefore it is a figure, commanding us to communicate in the passion of our Lord, and to lay up in our memory with delight and profit, that his flesh was wounded and crucified for us." Parallel to these expressions, are those of Origen, who calls the understanding the words of our Saviour, "of eating his flesh and drinking his blood according to the letter, a letter that kills."⁸

It were endless, indeed, to accumulate authorities on this point. I shall therefore content myself with producing only another testimony, but which is such, that even the Papists themselves ought to pay a due regard to it, because it comes from one of the successors of St. Peter.

Pope Gelasius, who lived at the end of the fifth century, affords in the subsequent words a remarkable illustration of the truths on which I have been insisting—truths so obvious, that no plausibility⁹ of argument could

⁸ Hoin. 7 in Levit.

⁹ The following passage deserves to be transcribed as a curious and highly characteristical specimen of papal ingenuity in getting rid of what many would term an *insuperable difficulty*. "Extat Gelasii P. R. de duabus Christi naturis contra Eutychem liber, in quo *insignis habetur contra transubstantiationem locus*. Cum librum veterum esse non possent negare Romani Theologi, eo confugerunt ut alterius esse quam Gelasii Romani contenderent: quod viri docti, et sui Pontificis maximam esse auctoritatem intelligerent. Primo ergo et Baronius et Bellarminus et Perronius et alii, conquisitis undique sophismatis ac strophis pugnant non esse Gelasii urbici Episcopi, tum miserum opusculum à vera ac genuina parente sui familia abactum in alienum ignobilius nomen transcribunt, aliique Gennadii, alii Gelasii nescio cujus Cæsariensis, alii denique

show the superior reasonableness of the opposite system. "Doubtless the sacraments of the body and blood of Christ, which we receive, are a divine thing; for which reason we are made by them partakers of the divine nature, and yet the substance of bread and wine does not cease to exist. And indeed the image and likeness of the body and blood of Christ are celebrated in the action of the mysteries. Therefore it appears sufficiently evident that we ought to think that of Christ which we profess and celebrate and receive in his image. That as by the perfecting virtue of the Holy Ghost, the elements pass into a divine substance whilst their nature still remains in its own propriety, so in that principal mystery, the union of the divine and human nature, whose efficacy and power these represent, there remains one entire and true Christ, both natures of which he consists, continuing in their properties unchangeable."²⁰

From these citations alone, I may venture to assert without fear of

alterius Gelasii Cyziceni factum esse affirmant; ut incerto auctoris testimonium nullius sit apud homines fidei. *Necquicquam*. Vide Daillæus De Usu Patrum, Genævæ, p. 103.

²⁰ Certe Sacramenta quæ sumimus corporis et sanguinis Christi Divina res est, propter quod et per eadem divinæ efficimur consortes naturæ, et tamen esse non desinit substantiæ vel naturæ panis et vini. Et certe imago et similitudo corporis et sanguinis Christi in actione mysteriorum celebrantur. Satis ergo nobis evidenter ostenditur, hoc nobis ipso Christo Domino sentiendum, quod in ejus imagine profitemur, celebramus et sumimus, ut sicut in hanc scilicet, in Divinam, transeant, S Spiritu perficiente, substantiam permanentes tamen in suæ proprietate naturæ; sic illud ipsum mysterium principale, cujus nobis efficientiam virtutemque veraciter repræsentant, ex quibus constat proprie permanentibus, unum Christum quia integrum verumque permanere demonstrant.—Lib de Duab. Nat. Christi. In the margin of this place, in the Bibliotheca Patrum, there is printed *Cautè*, "as if," says Bishop Pearson, (see Exposition of the Creed, fol. p. 162,) "there could be any danger in observing the sense of the Fathers, when they speak so expressly and considerately."

contradiction, that the early Fathers were as utter strangers to the doctrine of Transubstantiation, as to that of a bare memorial. But the writings of more than twenty of these holy men, without a single authority on the opposite side, might be brought forward to show, that they understood the sacramental words in a figurative sense. What room can there be left to doubt, that they had but one opinion on the subject,²¹ when we find them all so repeatedly terming the consecrated elements, the signs, the symbols, the types, the antitypes, the commemoration, the representation, and the mysteries of Christ's body and blood. I allow, however, that certain passages may be quoted in the Fathers, where they call the bread and wine the body and blood of Christ; but then the reason of it is to be discovered in this observation of St. Austin. "If sacraments did not bear some similitude to the things of which they are the sacraments, they would not be sacraments at all; but from this similitude they often take the name of the things themselves. As the sacrament of faith, which is baptism, is called faith." When the Fathers, therefore, in proclaiming their belief that the real presence was to be acknowledged, but a material sacrifice to be denied, occasionally break forth into grand and swelling sentiments, and indulge themselves somewhat too much in rhetorical amplifications,²² let the fact never be forgotten, which so enhances the

²¹ From the *αναδείξις* and the *αναφαισις* of the Greek, and the *conficere corpus Christi* of the Latin Fathers, Bellarmine and others, have argued, absurdly enough, that they held the doctrine of Transubstantiation. For a critical explanation of those expressions, read Casaubon's Exercit. ad Annal. Eccles. Baron. p. 457—459.

²² They frequently apply such terms as these to the Sacrament, *μεταποίησις* a change, *μεταβολή* an exchange, *μεταρρυθμίσις* a transmutation, *μετάληψις* a participation, *μετασχηματισμός* a transformation; but never *μετουσίωσις*, which we express by the word transubstantiation, denoting a change of essence or substance. But, as Casaubon remarks, "Ubi illa verba Patrum exponentur et similia, quæ hodie contra auctorum veterum mentem ad stabiliendam Transubstantionem, vulgo trahuntur. Exercit. ad Annal. Eccles. Baron. p. 460.

sanctity of their characters, and gives so much weight to their opinions,²³ that they had no other motive in so doing, but to guard the most solemn and sacred of christian rites from the profanation of unworthy receivers.²⁴

²³ Even Daillæus, whom no one will accuse of an excessive veneration for the Fathers, or of timid reluctance in producing instances of their precipitation, and of their strong rhetorical assertions, has bestowed upon them such praises, as must satisfy all but those who entertain a species of idolatrous devotion for their writings. “Sunto ergo si placet Patres eodem in *Philosophia Christiana* loco quo in *seculari* est *Aristoteles*, fatebor eorum de religione sententias reverenter esse habendas atque expendendas, fatebor de viris maximis ac præcipua eruditionis ac sanctitatis fama florentibus, non esse temere quicquam secius suspicandum, neque eorum placita absque gravi et evidenti ratione erroris aut vanitatis, præsertim in re momentosa, insimulanda, ita tamen ut meminerimus eos homines fuisse qui nonnunquam vel memoriæ, vel intelligentiæ vel iudicii errore labi possent.” *De Usu Patrum*, p. 211.

²⁴ For an impartial and able review of the Fathers, as records of Christian Antiquity, as preachers of Christian Virtue, as expositors of Holy Writ, as defenders of the true Christian Doctrine, see Hey's *Theological Lectures*, vol. i, p. 106—112.

CHAPTER THIRD.

A concise View of the Opinions of the first Reformers respecting the Holy Eucharist.

IT is the fashion of certain illuminators in the present age, to express their surprise, that when part of Europe had released itself from that yoke which had so long held human reason in captivity, the Reformation should not have been made more full and complete by those who were chiefly instrumental in bringing about that great and glorious event. But to share in this astonishment, is surely to draw a general conclusion from a very imperfect and partial view. For a little more thought, with the help of a little more reading, would have taught these prating sophisters—these innovating theorists, that it is not so easy a thing as they imagine to overturn the foundation of established opinions, though absurd and erroneous to the utmost degree. They who have to address themselves to opinions and prejudices which length of time has rendered dear and sacred in the eyes of the people, cannot fail of encountering strong and almost irresistible opposition. The logic of the passions, too, can raise up the most excessive dislike for profered improvements. It is therefore the height of folly to

have expected that nations which for ages had implicitly believed that a consecrated wafer was a God,¹ should at once be able to burst the barriers of darkness and ignorance, and to bear the light of true knowledge. So powerful indeed is the force of education, habit, prepossession, over the minds of men, that even he, whose intellectual boldness in asserting the cause of primitive christianity, was only equal to his personal firmness in promoting it, and which together have rendered him such a blessing to mankind, could not display a total emancipation from popular errors. It is well known, that the Patriarch of the Reformation, the ever-memorable Luther, to the last days of his life adhered to his strange and perplexing theory of consubstantiation or impanation, by which expression we are to understand the presence of Christ's body in the Eucharist, in or with the bread that is there exhibited.

Dropping therefore all further allusion to his opinions^a on this topic,

¹ Read the following story, and then judge of the possibility of disentangling at once truth from error, in people who accredit such impious nonsense:—"A gentlewoman of England, in one of the years of the jubilee, travelled to Rome, where being arrived, she repaired to Father Parsons, who was her confessor; and he administering to her the blessed sacrament, which in the form of a little wafer he put into her mouth, observed she was long chewing and could not swallow the same; whereupon he asked her, 'whether she knew what it was she received?' she answered, 'yes, a wafer:' at which answer of hers, Father Parsons being much offended, he thrust his finger into her mouth, and thence drew out a *piece of red flesh*, which after was nailed up against a post in a vesperly or private chapel within our Lady Church." See Somers' Tracts, vol. iii. p. 62.

^a "De hac ipsa materia τοῦ μυστηρίου Sacramenti, ὁ διδασκαλος, Doctor, i. Lutherus dixit, se potius omnes veteres scriptores, omnium testimonia repudiaturum esse, quam mutaturum suam sententiam." Vide Melanthonis Epistolæ, Ludguni, 1647, p. 450. Having reached to this stage of opiniativeness, Luther might well exclaim to his friendly opponent Bucer, "Quicquid dico in hac summa Eucharistiæ, ex corde dico." Vide Seckendorff De Lutheranism, Fran. 1688, lib. iii. p. 62. Melanthon, again noticing this pertinacity of the διδασκαλος, to Bullinger, adds,

which were so explicit as never to be doubted, I shall proceed to examine those of Zuinglius, of whom it has been said, that Bishop Hoadly was no more than an expositor in his notion of a simple memorial.³ But this great discovery I am inclined to think, cannot be traced to so respectable an origine. The merit of it must entirely rest with the Bishop. To him alone it was reserved to show, that to consider the Lord's Supper in any other light, than simply as a remembrance of his death, is to advance those principles which are not only unsupported by any proof, but contrary to incontestible facts; nay, that they are utterly inconceivable from the manifest inconsistencies and absurdities which they embrace. For the Swiss Reformer though he called the sacrament signs, yet employed not that term to exclude the body of Jesus Christ. So Bucer⁴ affirmed this distinguished man to have thought, when neither ignorantly misconceived, nor wilfully misrepresented. In truth, according to his own confession,⁵ he admits

with unusual severity, "*Fortassis priusquam hæ meæ literæ ad te preferantur, accipies atrocissimum scriptum Luthero in quo bellum de Cæna Dominica instaurat. Nunquam majore impetu hanc causam eget. Desino igitur sperare ecclesiarum pacem.*"—In this last sentence he spoke like a true prophet. Vide Vita Bullingeri apud Melchior Adam.—Franckofurt, 1705, p. 231.

³ Such seems to have been the opinion of the learned Dr. Maclaine, the translator of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, vol. iii. and other writers. But for my part, I think that the peculiar opinion of his Lordship in this respect bears a stronger resemblance to the creed of Barclay, the Quaker, than to that of Zuinglius. See his Apology, p. 466.

⁴ "*Quicquid ergo in his Epistolis (Zuinglius) leges,*" says Bucer, "*quod videbitur Sacramentis, non nihil detrachere, id omne de actione in Sacramentis externas secluso Christi spiritu, dictum accipias, uti nimirum ea prostituuntur a servis superstitionis Papisticæ.*" Vita Zuinglii. Melchior Adam. p. 19.

⁵ Vide Confessio Fidei ad Franc 1. Epist. ad Car. in Bossuet's Histoire des Variations, tom 1, liv. ii. p. 73. Hist. de la Reformation de la Suisse, tom 2, liv. iv. & liv. vi. and Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography, vol. 3, p. 417, for the opinions of Zuinglius on the Sacrament.

that the bread and wine were not simple signs nor a simple representation, for that the remembrance and belief of the body offered and the blood shed for us, nourished and sustained our souls. Again, he says, "although we distinguish as we ought, betwixt the signs and the things thereby signified, yet we divide not the reality from signs, but confess, that all who by faith embrace the promises there made, do spiritually receive Christ with his spiritual gifts, and that they who were before made partakers of Christ, do continue and renew that communication." Do not these declarations then speak for themselves to the present age, and to all posterity, that the points of discrepancy are vital between Bishop Hoadly and Zuinglius, instead of their notions being exactly similar upon the death of Christ as a sacrifice. Facts themselves therefore should be first substantiated, before consequences are deduced from them:—Since, from the words just quoted, it is evident, I think, that Zuinglius did look upon the sacrament as a commemoration of a sacrifice.

The charge of inconsistency⁶ has been repeatedly thrown on Melancthon, especially concerning his doctrine of the nature and end of the sacrament, which after the death of Luther was thought to be more consonant to that of Zuinglius, than to the great oracle of his party. It may be so. Yet the learned cannot fail to recollect that this Reformer drew up the confession of Augsbourg, in which it must of course be supposed, that he not only spoke the prevalent ideas and principles of his friends, but also of his own private opinions; and unquestionably, that

⁶ The artful Bossuet, after placing inconsistency among the great and prominent faults of Melancthon, assigns this humiliating cause for it:—"Ce qu'il y a de certain, c'est que dans la crainte qu'avoit Melancton d'augmenter les divisions scandaleuses de la nouvelle reforme ou il ne voyoit aucune moderation, il n'oit presque plus parler qu'en termes si generaux, que chacun y pouvoit entendre tout ce qu'il vouloit." *Hist. de Variations*, tom. 1, p. 425, 426.

document favours consubstantiation. Perhaps this conclusion is more just, that if the virtue of consistency is not always discoverable in the sentiments of Melancthon, the true source of his occasional dereliction of former opinions is to be traced to that laudable love of peace, which rendered him so anxious to bring the discordant⁷ views of those for whom he entertained the highest possible regard, into one simple and harmonious end.

To appear as a leader in that theological Revolution, the foundation and corner-stone of which was a liberty inseparably connected with virtue, order, and morality, is well known to have been a chief object in the principles and conduct of Calvin. From this restless desire of an overruling influence, this truly great man was led sometimes to step out of the beaten road, and not always did he step aright. In order to enlarge the circle of his fame, and to acquire new followers, he maintained a kind of middle sacramental presence between the corporeal of the Lutherans, and the spiritual of the Zuinglians, in which however some have imagined, but most erroneously, a stricter verbal conformity with the latter; for if the sentence I am now to quote, should seem to justify that conjecture, the next to it will add another proof to the many more, of the extreme folly of confining ourselves to a single passage for the meaning of an author, instead of comparing and combining the rest together.

⁷ He who thinks with the mind of a Christian philosopher, must deplore the inveterate hostility with which some of the Reformers acted towards each other in their disputes on the Eucharist. Willing as I am to make every allowance for this intolerant spirit, as proceeding from the strongest impulses of conscience and zeal, yet I never could read, without pain or regret, that Luther interpreted the death of Zuinglius, and the defeat of his countrymen, into a judgment upon them, for having rejected his doctrine of consubstantiation or impanation. See Seckendorff, lib. ii. p. 38.

“Bread and wine are signs which represent unto us the invisible food which we receive of the flesh and blood of Christ. Moreover they also do not satisfy me, which acknowledging that we have some communion with Christ, when they mean to express it, do make us partakers only of the spirit, without any mention of flesh and blood.”⁸

In the judgment of some, it would be construed into a culpable omission to be here totally silent on the opinions of him, who has been styled the father of rational theology, and the forerunner and auxiliary of Luther’s war upon the church. But though no one at the beginning of the sixteenth century, was like Erasmus so splendidly distinguished as a scholar, yet his pretensions to the character of a reformer, especially on the subject of the sacrament, will be thought only of the negative and indirect kind. It is certainly a serious imputation upon the merits of this illustrious man, that his excessive timidity,⁹ and equally excessive dread of losing his pensions, led him to profess principles which perhaps he had never truly embraced, or which, when his judgment was matured, he had secretly renounced. Any one who is the least conversant in his writings must perceive he is constantly insinuating the truth, although he never manfully avows¹⁰ it. Second to none in his wishes or endeavours to oppose a barrier

⁸ Vide *Institutio Christianæ Religionis* per I. Calvino, translated by Thomas Norton. Lond. 1611, p. 670—673.

⁹ His fears for his personal safety induced him to shun the Imperial court, and to contemplate with horror a visit to the Pope. See Jortin’s *Life of Erasmus*, vol. 1, p. 70.

¹⁰ Salmero, the famous Jesuit, pretended to say, that Transubstantiation was, according to the expression of Erasmus, “*et re et in nomine veteribus ignotam*,” but Jortin has proved, to the entire satisfaction of the Critics, that in no edition of his works are the words just quoted to be found. From the following passage, however, in his writings, it may be safely inferred, that his

to the inroads of ignorance and superstition, yet he would have regarded it a species of folly, little short of insanity, to have cheerfully taken his fate with the rest of the Reformers. But perhaps the best apology for his cautious temporizing conduct is to be found in his own memorable confession—"All possess not the intrepidity fit for a martyr, and I am afraid that if I were brought to the test, I should imitate St. Peter."¹¹

So far then there is nothing to be discerned in the tenets of the foreign Reformers which at all quadrates with the notion of a simple memorial, but rather every thing which militates against it. But it may be said, for there is no wild conjecture on this point which has not been countenanced by the Socinians, that the Reformers, in order to draw after them the multitude, to whom, from a variety of early impressions and associations, the doctrine of Transubstantiation offered nothing opposite to the dictates of reason, had advanced tenets on this head, contrary to what they privately held. If the Reformers did so deceive the people, their conduct was unaccountable indeed; for to brave every peril, for the sake of a doctrine which they secretly rejected, was to inflict upon themselves a new species of martyrdom. But should we dismiss this supposition as too improbable to deserve even the support of the Socinian, it may however be asserted, that these conductors of the public mind had lived so long under the dark

prejudice in favor of the corporal presence was not very strong: "*Olim satis erat credere corpus Domini adesse per consecrationem Sacerdotis; post inventa est Transubstantiatio.*" Tom. 9, c. 961. Martin Lydius, indeed, has affirmed, on very respectable authority, that a little before his death, Erasmus came over to the opinion of Zuinglius on the Lord's Supper. See Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*, vol. 1, p. 380, note (n),

¹¹ *Non omnes ad martyrium satis habent roboris; vereor autem, si quid inciderit tumultus, Petrum sim imitaturus.* See this sentiment in a letter to his friend Pace, Dean of St. Paul's.

shade of Popery, and were therefore so far blinded by the prejudices of that Church, as to be unable to see at once the true sense of the Scripture in this particular case. This is plausible enough, yet I think it will not bear a near examination.

Between the introduction and final¹² establishment of our Reformed Church under Elizabeth, there was a space of near half a century ; a space quite sufficient for those who were to fix the wavering opinions of the people, to have availed themselves of the blaze of illumination which had

¹² Many have objected to this epithet, as considering the Reformation under Elizabeth far from full or complete. "It was but in her reign a mixed reformation, part evangelical in doctrine, and in part politic in worship and discipline. And that same policy which was intended to bring papists to us, hath been very near drawing us back to popery." See Somers' Tracts, vol. 9, p. 504. To say the truth, the religious, like some parts of the political conduct of that Queen, is a problem which, at this distance of time, is hard to be solved. Her attachment to images, lighted tapers, crucifixes, and organs, and her aversion to all clerical marriages, which led her to order that no priest should marry any woman except he had the consent of his Bishop, two neighbouring Justices, and the woman's parents, (see Sparrow's Collect. cap. xxix. p. 76,) and which at last proceeded to that pitch, that she would have forbidden them entirely, if Cecil, as Strype (in his Life of Archbishop Parker, p. 107,) says, had *not been stiff at this juncture*, have induced many to conclude, that she was in heart a Papist. On the other hand, it may surely be alleged, that these facts by no means warrant such an inference. For though Elizabeth had renounced the Roman Catholic religion, yet she neither wished herself nor her subjects should rush like children from one extreme to another. Having purified religion from all the gross corruptions of the Papal Church, she had too much wisdom to object to retain what was proper to be retained merely from its being Popish ; I mean for having been made use of in times of popery. Upon the ground also of wishing to frame a system of doctrines, wide enough to comprehend the disagreement of Lutherans, Papists and Protestants, she may be vindicated for adopting a phraseology on certain popular points, which she applied, and not without success, to her own particular purpose. Hence, to the desire of gratifying the nation at large, may be ascribed the change of the expressions in the twenty-eighth of our present Articles, and the insisting on faith, and the spiritual eating of the Sacrament.

spread over the continent ; to have studied the chief points of doctrine with undivided and concentrated attention ; to have freed their minds from those endless mistakes which are so often the result of a too hasty interpretation of the sacred text, and to have opposed the clear conceptions of their unbiassed faculties, and of the real faith of Scripture,¹³ to the united clamours of prejudice, of ignorance, and of superstition: Yet they to whom we owe our religious establishment,—under a Cranmer, a Latimer, and a Ridley, who possessed in no ordinary degree those masculine virtues, constancy, moderation, and firmness ; men of the most fervent and exalted piety ; and of the most distinguished learning, and extensive views of primitive antiquity ; true heroes in defence of Christianity, who endured the flames, rather than renounce the true evangelical doctrine of the Lord's Supper ;—under these eminently active pastors, these shining lights of the Church, these benefactors of mankind,¹⁴ so far I say was the notion of a

¹³ “ In the managing of which great business, they, (the Reformers) took the Scripture for their ground, according to the general explication of the ancient Fathers : the practice of the primitive times for their rule and pattern, as it was expressed to them in approved authors. No regard had to Luther or Calvin, in the procedure of their work, but only to the writings of the Prophets and Apostles, Christ Jesus being the corner-stone of that excellent structure.” See Heylin's Introduction to the Life of Laud, p. 3.

¹⁴ There has been, of late years, a lurking disposition in some writers, to undervalue the talents, labours and services of the primitive Reformers of our English Church. But though Voltaire and Gibbon may employ their pens in so ungrateful a task, yet more candid judges will ever recollect, with the liveliest gratitude, the innumerable blessings which we owe to their truly glorious exertions. I cannot deny myself the pleasure of transcribing here the following just tribute of praise and veneration paid to those pillars of the Protestant Church by one, whose professional pursuits and scholastic education qualified him to estimate their various signal merits.—“ And it seems sufficiently clear that the persons who compiled our Articles were men of the first ability, as scholars, (if we except a few, though mere linguists ought not to be reckoned,) we are mere children to them ; the Scriptures they were conversant in, to a degree of which few now have any conception (so at least I believe). Ecclesiastical History of facts and opinions lay

bare memorial to be discovered in the view which they took of the nature and end of the sacrament, that they all believed and maintained a real presence by grace to faith.

To substantiate this plain assertion, I shall set before the reader the avowed sentiments of those restorers of true religion, not however in the way of argument, but narratively; nor yet in the exact order in which they stand in the memorable disputations at Oxford, but in that which is the best to bring them distinctly under our view. The doctrine then for which Cranmer,¹⁵ Latimer and Ridley laid down their lives, and rejoiced

open before them, yet they were not mere scholars, nor Monks, nor Monkish men; but skilled in government, knowing men, and manners, liberal in behaviour, free from all fanaticism, full of probity, yet guided in their measures by prudence." Hey's Theological Lectures, vol. 2, p. 204.

"Of a desire to lessen the fame of Cranmer, I certainly do not mean to accuse Burnet; but his impeachment, or rather insinuation, of the Archbishop's incapacity, (see Hist. Reform. vol. 2, p. 336,) has brought some to aver, who have their views in wishing to lower the characters of the Reformers of our faith, that his heart was as unsound as his head. Now, most assuredly, I am not the apologist for what he had to do in the deaths of Joan Butcher, Lambert, and George Paris. Here those who profess the greatest respect for his memory, must admit, that it became him rather to have taken part with the oppressed, than with their oppressors. His culpability in these affairs is without excuse, except it be said, which I am willing to allow is but an unsatisfactory plea, that he was yet tainted with the spirit of Popish persecution. But, with respect to his recantation, I must ever think, that the subsequent magnanimity of this martyr of Protestantism, should in justice efface all recollection of his momentary weakness in that point. There is a small book, published by the famous Whiston, entitled "An Enquiry into the Evidences of Archbishop Cranmer's Recantation; or Reasons for a Suspicion that the pretended Copy of it, is not genuine," Lond. 1736; in which the writer supposes, and there is much probability in the conjecture, that what Cranmer signed was only the first part of the Recantation printed in Fox's Acts and Monuments, as far as the words, "without which there is no salvation;" that the rest was added by the Papists, but that Cranmer never set his hand thereto. The noble

so to do, is as follows, and nearly as possible in their own words.¹⁶

“ His true body,” said our illustrious Reformer, Archbishop Cranmer,

stand, too, which the Archbishop made for three days against the statute of the six Articles, denominated by Protestants, for their inquisitorial severity, ‘ the Bloody Bill,’ and ‘ the Whip with Six Thongs ;’ the penalty for denying the first, the corporal presence in the Eucharist, was death by fire, with the forfeiture of all real and personal estates, (see Strype’s Life of Cranmer, chap. xix. p. 73,) and his remarkable boldness in entering his protest against it, as the last thing he could do, are sufficient, with all charitable and generous minds, to atone for many former acts of irresolution and timidity. In reference to the Primate’s intellectual inferiority to his other fellow labourers in the great work of Reformation, there are few critics, I think, of bad judgment enough to maintain, that his celebrated Treatise on the Sacrament was not as much superior, as a composition, to any of his associates, as that the author of it was superior to them in rank and situation ; and, with respect to his change of sentiments on that subject, I consider the progress of that alteration as perfectly natural, instead of arising, as some have invidiously thought, from temporary ideas of convenience. Rejecting Transubstantiation, his opinions were still fluctuating about the corporal presence ; and finding that to be no longer defensible, he became a Sacramentarian, the opprobrious epithet applied to those who denied the corporal presence in the Eucharist. So much for his supposed want of steadiness of principles, which should rather be attributed to an enlargement of mind, than to any scheme of polity which falls in with the momentary opinions of the court or the people. Indeed, the only surprising thing is, that he should have so long clung to Transubstantiation, as Wickliffe, near two centuries before, had said so much to bring that extravagant absurdity into discredit and contempt. See Lewis’s Life of this Reformer, p. 76—81.

* For these extracts, see Fox’s Acts and Monuments of the Church, vol. 3, p. 38, 40, 65. “ Having compared this voluminous work with the Records,” says Burnet, in his Preface to the Hist. of the Reformation, p. 2, “ I have never been able to discover any errors or prevarications in them, but the utmost fidelity and exactness.” The industry of Fox was truly astonishing. Employed at Basil, during the persecutions of Mary, in the humble but laborious office of corrector to a printing house, he yet found time to design and nearly to complete his Acts and Monuments of the Church ; and, what is a still more extraordinary fact, the whole was transcribed with his own hand, in consequence of his inability to keep a servant to perform his menial offices.

“ is truly present to them that truly receive him, but spiritually. And so it is taken after a spiritual sort. For when he said, this is my body, it is all one as if he had said, this is the breaking of my body, this is the shedding of my blood: As oft as you shall do this, it shall put you in remembrance of the breaking of my body, and the shedding of my blood; that as truly as you receive this Sacrament, so truly shall you receive the benefit promised by receiving the same worthily.” Again, after saying “ that we should understand the Sacrament not carnally, but spiritually,” the Prelate adds, “ but lifting up our minds we should look up to the blood of Christ with our faith, should touch him with our mind, and receive him with our inward man, and that being like eagles in this life, we should fly up to Heaven in our hearts, where that Lamb is resident, at the right-hand of his Father, which taketh away the sins of the world, by whose stripes we are made whole, by whose passion we are filled at his table, and whose blood we receiving out of his holy side, do live for ever, being made the guests of Christ, having him dwelling in us through the grace of his true nature, and through the virtue and efficacy of his whole passion; being no less assured and certified that we are fed spiritually unto eternal life by Christ’s flesh crucified, and by his blood shed, the true food of our minds, than that our bodies be fed with meat and drink in this life: And hereof this said mystical bread on the table of Christ, and the mystical wine being administered and received after the institution of Christ, be to us a Memorial, a Pledge, a Token, a Sacrament, and a Seal.”

“ I answer,” said the Apostle⁷ of England, the venerable Latimer, “ that to the right celebration of the Lord’s Supper there is no other presence of

⁷ Hugoni Latimero—*quem passim vocabant Apostolum Anglorum*. Vide Nich. Sanderus. De Schismate Anglicano. Edit. Col. Ag. 1585, p. 116.

Christ required than a spiritual presence ; and this presence is sufficient for a Christian man, as a presence by which we abide in Christ, and Christ abideth in us, to the obtaining of eternal life, if we persevere. And this same presence may be called most fitly a real presence, that is, a presence not feigned, but a true and faithful presence. Which thing I here rehearse, lest some sycophant or scorner should suppose me with the Anabaptists to make nothing else of the Sacrament, but a naked and a bare sign. As for that which is feigned of many concerning their corporal presence, I for my part take it but for a Papistical invention, therefore think it utterly to be rejected."

And to the same effect, said the excellent Bishop Ridley, " And I also worship Christ in the Sacrament, but not because he is included in the Sacrament. Like as I worship Christ also in the Scriptures, not because he is really included in them. Notwithstanding, I say, that the body of Christ is present in the Sacrament, but yet sacramentally and spiritually, according to his grace giving life, and in that respect really, that is according to his benediction giving life. Furthermore, I acknowledge gladly the true body of Christ to be in the Lord's Supper in such sort, as the Church of Christ, (which is the spouse of Christ, and is taught of the Holy Ghost, and guided by God's word,) doth acknowledge the same. But the true Church of Christ doth acknowledge the presence of Christ's body in the Lord's Supper to be communicated to the godly by grace, and spiritually, as I have often shewed, and by a sacramental signification, but not by the corporal presence of the body of his flesh."

From these explicit and never to be forgotten declarations of Divines, who were the authors¹⁸ of a code of doctrine which none but the retailers

¹⁸ Unquestionably the plan of the Articles originated in Cranmer ; but I think we may safely

of the opinions of the *Confessional* will pronounce to be framed *in dark and ignorant ages*, I think it is obvious that while they were intent in refuting the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and likewise the notion of Impanation or Consubstantiation, they gave no sort of countenance to any opinion which might confirm and fix the impression on the public mind, that the Eucharist was no more than a simple memorial.—I now proceed to shew, that those who were called by the Providence of God to restore Protestantism, after it had been persecuted with fire and sword by Mary, sought with equal care to prevent either the doctrine of Transubstantiation from being sanctioned on pretence of its antiquity, or the doctrine of the real presence from being rejected on pretence of its mysteriousness.

When the Clergy assembled in Convocation under Elizabeth,¹⁹ pro-

believe, that he derived material aid from Latimer and Ridley. "These Articles," says Strype, "the Archbishop was the penner, or at the least the director of, with the assistance, as is *very probable*, of Bishop Ridley." See Life of Cranmer, cap. xxvii. p. 272. And, as Latimer then lived with the Archbishop, it is natural to conclude that he also was a coadjutor in this great undertaking.

¹⁹ If I comprehend Mr. Gibbon at all, whose affectation of Tacitus renders him so often obscure, I am to understand, that the Reformation was more bold and complete under Edward VI. because the notion of a simple memorial prevailed in our churches. (Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. 10, p. 189, and note 33) I cannot, however, notice the fact of a manifest resemblance of leading sentiments, when Edward touches upon this topic in his address to the insurgents of Devonshire:—"By like abuse you are persuaded that many hold that the blessed Sacrament of Christ's body doth differ nothing from common bread, whereas laws, statutes, proclamations, common practice, agree that the common bread is only to sustain the body, but the blessed bread is food for the soul." See Hayward's Life and Raigne of Edward VI. p. 139. The expressions also on this subject in the statute 1 Edward VI. entitled, "An Act against such as speak irreverently against the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, commonly called the Sacrament of the Altar," seemed solely and directly levelled against those who sought to lower the beneficial mystery of the Sacrament to a bare memorial.

ceeded to re-build that fabric of faith, which in the former reign had been shattered to pieces, or at least had received such rude shocks, the merit of the late workmanship was felt on all sides; insomuch, that no fundamental improvement was attempted, notwithstanding their views, it may be justly supposed, were enlightened by the then progressive advancement of learning and science. Not content with conforming to the particular ideas of Cranmer, they adopted his articles in general word for word, thinking that by so doing they best secured the peace of the community, and the great general ends of religion. Now, the prolocutor for that convention was the famous Nowel, Dean of St. Pauls; whose catechism was publicly received throughout all the grammar schools of the kingdom. When he therefore maintains in that production the doctrine of the real presence, we have more than proof sufficient, that he spoke the sense of the Church of England. Nothing indeed can be more fully asserted than that point, as the following quotation from Heylin³⁰ will demonstrate. "In his catechism he first propounds this question, viz. *Cælestes pars et ab omni sensu externo longe disjuncta quænam est.* That is to say, what is the heavenly or spiritual part of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper which no sense is able to discover? To which the party catechised returns this answer, *Corpus et Sanguis Christi, quæ fidelibus in cæna dominica præbentur, ab illis accipiuntur, comeduntur, et bibuntur, cælesti tantum et spirituali modo, vere tamen atque reipsa.* That is to say, the heavenly or spiritual part is the body and blood of Christ, which are given to the faithful in the Lord's Supper, and are taken, eaten, and drank by them; which though it be only in an heavenly and spiritual manner, yet are they both given and taken truly and really, or in very deed."

³⁰ See Introduction to the Life of Laud, p. 22.

Nor were the opinions of the most learned divines of King James's day less in a state of fluctuation on this subject, but equally steady, sure and resolved, as will appear sufficiently convincing from this passage of the above cited writer. "It was ordered in the conference at Hampton Court, that the Doctrine of the Sacrament should be added to the authorised Catechism of the Church, where before it was not; in which addition to the Catechism it is said expressly, that the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken of the faithful in the Lord's Supper. Verily and indeed saith the English book; *vere et reipsa*, or *vere et realiter*, said the Latin translation; by which the Church doth teach us to understand, that Christ is truly and really present, though after a spiritual manner, in that blessed Sacrament."

It is not, however, to be denied, much as it may be lamented, that some have taken a petulant, precipitate, and contentious exception at the terms *verily and indeed*; while those who wish to keep a more moderate tone, yet deem them inconsistent to such as have departed from the Romish and Lutheran Church. Perhaps, in this instance the compilers of our Catechism have been unfortunate in the choice of their expressions; since from their strength, they are liable to misconception. In admitting this, I am certainly very liberal in my concessions; though, be it remembered, it is one thing to make this admission, and quite another to undervalue the doctrine itself.—"The body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper, are words intended to shew, that our Church as truly believes the strongest assertions of Scripture concerning this Sacrament, as the Church of Rome doth; only takes more care to understand them in the right meaning; which is,

²¹ Introduction to the Life of Laud, p. 23.

that though in one sense, all communicants equally partake of what Christ calls his body and blood, that is, the outward signs of them, yet in a much more important sense, the faithful only, the pious and virtuous receiver, eats his flesh and drinks his blood; shares in the life and strength derived to men from his incarnation and death; and through faith in him, becomes by a vital union, one with him, a member, as St. Paul expresses it, *of his flesh and of his bones*; certainly not in a literal sense, which yet the Romanists might as well assert, as that we eat his flesh in a literal sense, but in a figurative and spiritual one. In appearance, the Sacrament of Christ's death is given to all alike; but *verily* and *indeed* in its beneficial effects, to none besides the faithful. Even to the unworthy communicant he is present, as he is wherever we meet together in his name; but in a better and most gracious sense, to the worthy soul; becoming by the inward virtue of his spirit, its food and sustenance. This real presence of Christ in the Sacrament, his Church hath always believed."²²

Such is the explanation of the true doctrine, by the pious and learned Archbishop Secker, whose rare praise it was, by the clearness of his conception, and the acuteness of his discrimination, to have placed the profound but frequently obscure ideas of his celebrated friend, Bishop Butler, in the most conspicuous point of view. One fact certainly is clear and indisputable to every candid man, that by *verily* and *indeed*, our compilers could not mean the gross and literal, but the figurative and spiritual eating and drinking of the body and blood of Christ; though it were to be wished, for the sake of removing every doubt and objection, we had been instructed to say, that the faithful believer only, *verily* and *indeed* receives the spiritual, not carnal, benefit of the Sacrament.²³

²² Secker's Lectures, vol. 2, p. 250, 251.

²³ Dr. Balguy defends *verily* and *indeed* by the context. And observes, it is uncandid in the

But whatever difficulty may lie in the words just mentioned, it is the basest of all base assertions to insinuate, as some have done, that our Reformers meant to manage the affair of Transubstantiation with the Papists. Yield they might in matters of secondary importance, and that from the wise and commendable motive of pleasing the nation at large by a liberal scheme of conciliation ; but in the great fundamentals—in every article of christian faith essential to salvation, deep indeed would have been their shame, and severe their punishment, if for the private views of their own Church, or any sinister advantage whatsoever, they could have been carried out of the path of their duty. Admitting however, as I fully do, that the words verily and indeed are too strong, and therefore calculated with many to excite considerable embarrassment ; yet, nevertheless, I consider I religiously adhere to what appears to me truth and reason, when I hold with Archbishop Laud, “ that for the Church of England nothing is more plain than that it believes and teaches the true and real presence of Christ in the Eucharist.”²⁴

highest degree to charge the English church with favouring the doctrine of Transubstantiation. See Charge vii. p. 306.

²⁴ See Wharton's Life of Laud, p. 459.—“ Too many, indeed,” observes Archbishop Laud, “ confound Transubstantiation with the real Presence, whereas these have a wide difference.” Yet this was the Prelate who has been so often accused of a design to set up the Roman Catholic and to overturn the Protestant religion, or at least to re-unite the two churches. It is curious enough, that while he was thought, in the latter part of his life, to have looked with that friendly eye towards the corruptions of the Papal see, as even to have sent his obeisance to its head, and to have received the offer of a Cardinal's hat in consequence of that act, it should have been publicly said at Rome, after the tragic catastrophe of his death, that “ the *greatest enemy of the Church of Rome in England* was cut off, and the greatest champion of the Church of England silenced.”—See Wharton, p. 616. There are many, however, even among the Puritans, who still believe this last solemn declaration of Laud himself:—“ I was born and baptized in the bosom of the Church of England, established by law ; in that profession I have ever since lived, and in that I now come

CHAPTER FOURTH.

Considerations respecting the Holy Eucharist being a Feast on a Sacrifice.

FROM the foregoing exposition of the sentiments of the most illustrious of the Greek and Latin Fathers, and of the Foreign and English Reformers, respecting the nature and end of the Holy Eucharist, it should now appear that there is nothing which can be brought from them to

to die." Laud was a great man; but, from overlooking the circumstances of the times, he came to an untimely end. He knew the genius of Popery frequently tended to produce unlimited scepticism, and that fanaticism was often apt to degenerate into downright atheism. These were the vices of his age. Yet the arbitrary, violent measures he took to counteract and place them under the guidance of rational and impressive religion, proved fatal to himself, as to all his schemes of amendment and correction. If the Puritans had such an aversion to the sign of the cross in baptism, the wearing of surplices, and kneeling at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, as to call these the *three noxious ceremonies*, (see Neal on the Hampton Court Conference, and likewise Brand's Observations on Popular Antiquities, vol. 1, Preface, p. xii. xiii. note h, and p. 132, for some ludicrous instances of the Puritan detestation of the cross form,) no wonder that the application of music and painting, pomp and ceremony, to religious worship, worked those fierce

sanction, establish, or illustrate the opinion of a bare memorial. There is much artfulness therefore under the colour of great simplicity and candour in Bishop Hoadly's saying, "that it is of small importance to Christians to know what the many writers upon this subject *since the time of the Evangelists and Apostles, have affirmed*. Much less can it be the duty of Christians to be guided by what any persons by their own authority, or from their own imaginations, may teach concerning this duty."¹ But notwithstanding all this, and aware as I am also, that no authority is admissible for the foundation of a doctrine, except that of the Holy Scriptures, I must venture to conclude, that the Apostles and Evangelists themselves, though they did not affirm, yet considered the last supper to be a feast on a sacrifice, instead of a remembrance of a dead benefactor.

Now though every one must agree in the proposition laid down by the Bishop,* "that Jesus sufficiently declared the whole of what he understood by the last supper," yet, if we were not to extend our enquiries to what he did as well as said at the institution of this holy rite, we should leave the most essential part of it unexamined and unexplained. The Bishop however is pleased to conceive, that a right understanding of the Sacrament is to be collected only from a strict adherence to the express

sectaries up to the highest pitch of vengeance against Laud, and produced a combination against him, when they were the governors of the Parliament, which ended in his ruin.—In that Prelate's private character, which has been exposed to the same undeserved obloquy as his public one, the greatest blemish of it seems to have been his inveterate hostility to Archbishop Williams. See Bishop Hacket's *Life of Williams*, p. 65, Part ii. Wharton labours hard to vindicate the Primate in this particular, but I think with very little success.

¹ See Plain Account, p. 5.

² See Plain Account, p. 4.

words of our Lord. But I shall presume to assert, that we must have recourse to other passages of Scripture, and also other circumstances of time, the occasion, as well as the manners and the usages of the age, since the connection between them and the speaker is obvious; they reflect reciprocal light on each other; and it is only by a careful investigation of the bearings and relations of those several things, we can be enabled to discover with certainty, that the Disciples did conclude the last supper to be of the nature of a feast upon a sacrifice—a feast of faith upon the body and blood of the Redeemer.

Warmly as the position is controverted, yet few seem better established, than that the early and universal prevalence of sacrifice over the whole heathen world, though deformed, debased, and incumbered by a variety of superstitious appendages, had its origin in divine appointment. They who trace the rise of this expressive act of worship to the invention of man, are led unavoidably thereby to ascribe the origin of the divine institution of the Jewish sacrifices, to a mere compliance with the reigning practice,³ and thus they fall into the grossest of errors, inasmuch as they are compelled by their hypothesis, to overlook the great object to which the institution appointed, and from which alone, it derived its true value and importance. For the sacrifices and offerings of Abel, Noah, Abraham, and holy men of old, can only be considered as useful and instructive rites, but as bearing a reference to the sacrifice of that one, who was to make atonement for all mankind. The blood of bulls and goats could possess no virtue of itself to procure pardon for the sins of the offerer. *It could*

³ Spenser, in his great work, *De Legibus Hebræorum*, says, “*Expiatoria, Federalia, Pacifica, aliaque sacrificia lege præcepta*,” are derivable from Pagan mythology. Vol. 2, cap. ii. p. 759. But this writer, notwithstanding his high name, is to be consulted, as Dr. Magee observes, “with much caution, and his authorities scanned with much suspicion.”

*never with those sacrifices, make the comers thereunto perfect.*⁴ But viewed as typical of a future and more full and liberal dispensation, we recognize at once the propriety of the chief part of the Jewish service, consisting of sacrifice. Accordingly, we find the minds of the Jews were full of victims;⁵ while with them, and here also the Pagans imitated them, the sacrifice was always followed by a religious⁶ feasting on the thing offered, called the feast upon, on, or after the sacrifice, and those who partook of

⁴ "From those who presumptuously deride the doctrine of atonement, we would ask some reasonable solution of the origin of sacrifice. Will they make it consistent with any natural idea? Will they discover, in the blood of an innocent victim, any thing recommendatory in itself of the offerer's suit and devotions? Though they should clear away, what they term, a load of superstition from the Christian worship, they will find it encumbering every altar of their favourite natural religion; they will find these absurdities forming the significant and generally indispensable part of all religious ceremonies; and however disgraced, as we are ready to allow, with every abominable pollution, though retaining nothing to perfect the service, or to purify the offering, still, in its expiatory form, in its propitiatory hopes, the sacrifice of heathen nations preserves the features of that sacred and solemn office, which was ordained to keep up the remembrance of guilt, till the full and perfect sacrifice, oblation and satisfaction was made, by an eternal Mediator, for the sins of the whole world." For the foregoing forcible passage, see Randolph's very able Sermons during Advent, p. 46, 47. Dr. Magee, in his truly learned and important Discourses on the Scriptural Doctrines of Atonement and Sacrifice, has maintained the position at large with peculiar success, that the institution of sacrifice was of divine ordinance. See vol. 1, p. 43, 60.

⁵ It was this disposition to bloody sacrifice which, among other things, rendered the institutions of Moses so agreeable to the apostate Julian, who had for them, observes the Abbé de la Bleterié, "un gout plus digne d'un boucher, qué d'un philosophe." See note 2, Aux Lettres Choisies de Julien, p. 409.

⁶ To partake of the feast, which always followed a sacrifice, seems, as Mr. Mitford remarks, in his excellent History of Greece, vol. 1, p. 120, to have been an essential part of the ceremony. —If any thing remained after the *Εορταί κατά θεῖον*, as Plato terms them, it was usual, as we learn from the scholiast upon the Plutus of Aristophanes, to carry portions of them home to their friends.

"οὐ γὰρ ἐκ θυσιᾶς ἰούτες, εἴρουσιν ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς θυσιᾶς, τοῖς οἰκείοις κατὰ νόμον τινα."

the repast, were supposed to partake of the benefits of the sacrifice. Consequently to one living under the Mosaic ritual—to a Jew, whose religion was so entirely sacrificial, a *body slain, given and broken for another*, must of course remind him of a sacrifice; therefore, the Eucharist would necessarily convey the precise notion of a sacrifice to the first participants.

But if the words, *this is my body which is given for you, this is my blood which is shed for you*, recalled to the Disciples, without any forced accommodation of ideas, the nature of a sacrifice, the subsequent words, *for the remission of sins*, must have specifically represented to them the true intent and purpose of the sin offering; since nothing could appear more close or striking than the analogy. The injunction, *take, eat*, would of necessity include the idea, that they were to commemorate a peace offering.⁷ When too, our Lord, pointing to the cup, said, *this is my blood of the new covenant*, it would argue a strange degree of incredulity to suppose that the Disciples did not remember that Moses, in ratifying the old covenant, took half of the blood of the sacrifices, and sprinkled it on the altar, and the other half he sprinkled on the people, and said, behold the blood of the covenant⁸ which the Lord hath made with you. Therefore, their minds must have been oppressed indeed with stupefaction, not to have understood from the language used by their Master, that he thus meant plainly to mark out the similitude in the nature and objects of the two covenants. And although the veil of igno-

⁷ Of these two sorts of sacrifice it should seem that the sin offering always took place before the peace offering whenever those two offerings were made by the priest. See Ogden's fourth Sermon on the Lord's Supper, p. 474.

⁸ Exodus, chap. xxiv. v. 6, 8.

rance and prejudice upon their understandings and hearts, prevented them from discerning many of the prophecies which related to the mission of our blessed Lord, yet, when they heard these words, take, eat, this is my body,—this is my blood, drink ye all of it, they could not have but known, that he meant to establish a sacrificial feast, in analogy to their passover, and to uphold this new rite, as applicable to and expressive of the great sacrifice of the Redeemer⁹ of mankind on the cross, as on an altar, of which the paschal¹⁰ lamb was the typical expiation.

Yet here an objection meets us, which must not be overlooked. It has been said, that the Jewish passover bears no relation to a sacrifice, because that could not be lawfully made but by a Priest; therefore it was nothing but a mere feast, and thus from analogy to the Jewish, we cannot make the Lord's Supper to be a feast upon a sacrifice. Now to this argument may it not be satisfactorily replied, after first denying that the killing of every sacrifice was proper to the Priest, insomuch that the people not only commonly killed their own passover, itself a sacrifice,¹¹ and by which

⁹ “Then let us trust upon his death onely,” exclaims the venerable Latimer, “and look for no other sacrifice propitiatory, than the same bloody sacrifice. For Christ himself said, Consummatum est. It is perfectly finished. I have taken at my father's hand y^e dispensation of redeeming mankind. I have wrought man's Redemption.” Sermons, Lond. 1607, p. 23.

¹⁰ Προσέταχεν μὲν γὰρ κατὰ θινδαί τον αμάρν εις τιντον Χριστῶ, Vide Cyrilli Archiepisc. Alexandr. contra Julianum. Lib. x. p. 346.

¹¹ See Cudworth's True Notion of the Lord's Supper, p. 9, 11, &c. &c. I must here take the opportunity of saying, that to the remarks equally acute and solid of this celebrated Divine, I am indebted for the idea of the doctrine of the Sacrament being a feast on or after a sacrifice, and I believe every other writer who has espoused this opinion, must profess the same obligations.

they had a title to the blessings of the old covenant, but they did the same concerning any other of the sacrifices,¹²—can it be unwise, I say, to conclude, that if the paschal feast was not a feast upon a sacrifice, and if it had not been the true intent and purpose of our Lord to convey that meaning to his Disciples, he might have instituted the last supper with the same propriety at any other period, than just before the passion, and while he was eating the paschal supper? But who can disbelieve that to have been his purpose, except those who find it not their interest to be convinced, when we recognize in the very form of celebration all the marks of a sacrificial supper. For as there, flesh and blood were the things administered, and they not being at hand, or no longer suitable,¹³ while of

¹² See Bishop Patrick's Commentary, vol. 1, on Exodus, chap. xii. v. 6, p. 219, on Leviticus, chap. i. v. 4, 5, p. 376. In the reign of Hezekiah there seems indeed an exception to the practice of private persons killing their own passovers.—But then, what was the reason? There were many in the Congregation not *sanctified*; therefore the Levites had the charge of killing the passovers for every one that was not clean, to sanctify them unto the Lord. 2 Chronicles, chap. xxx. v. 17. The proof, however, of the passover being truly a sacrifice, could not be resisted even by Sykes himself; though, in admitting it, as he does, (see *Essay on Sacrifices*, p. 41,) some of his leading arguments suffered much thereby, in point of consistency. Patrick, on Exodus, chap. xii. v. 27, remarks, that the passover is frequently called by the name of a *sacrifice*. The emphatic words of Josephus may here be transcribed, whose authority on this subject, will be decisive with every unbiassed reader—την θυσίαν ην τότε εξιόντας Αγγελοι θυσαι προειπον ημας Πασχα λεγομεν. Vide De Antiquat. & Bello Judacio. Lib. 3, cap. x.—For a full and perfect refutation of those who deny the passover having the distinguishing characters of a sacrifice, see Cudworth's True Notion of the Lord's Supper.

¹³ “Nor is it from the purpose, that Christ has not again given us the flesh of slain animals, nor bloody meals, such as the fathers formerly ate in their sacred feasts, but has furnished out his table with plain bread and wine. For Christ's blood, by which all our debts are cancelled, and the fire of divine wrath is quenched, being once shed, it became a crime any longer to shed any blood in the sacred rites of Christians.” See the learned Witsius's Discourse on the Lord's Supper, vol. 3, book iv. chap. xvii.

necessity some symbolic elements must be given to be received by the communicants instead of them, so by a natural reference to his body and blood, to which the elements on the table before him bore some resemblance, because one is a liquid and the other a solid, corresponding with the blood and the body, he thus made the bread and wine the symbols of one of the most wonderful events in the whole history of man's redemption, so wonderful in all its parts.

Having noticed then the foregoing objection, I proceed to observe, that what our Saviour had primarily in view in the last supper will be sufficiently obvious to all, whose understandings have not been corrupted through the refinement of certain modern expositors, by a reference to some passages of Saint Paul on this subject. *The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the body and blood of Christ? the bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?* demands the Apostle, when he endeavours to convince the Corinthian proselytes to Christianity, of the unlawfulness of eating things sacrificed to idols. Now reduce the expression, the communion of the body and blood of Christ, to the lowest scale of importance, it is at least a communion with the members of his mystical body, the Church, and with him as Head of the Church, from whence alone we might reasonably infer, that the last supper¹⁴ was a communion of the body and blood of Christ in a feast upon a sacrifice, and not a general commemoration of a deceased

¹⁴ Alluding to the mystical union that we have with Christ in this holy rite, Casaubon thus forcibly expresses himself. "Nam quid majus admirabile, aut majus stupendum quam jungi, atque adeo coalescere in corpus unum, hominem cum Deo, creaturam cum creatore, mortalem cum immortali, finitum cum infinito, cœcum cum cœlo. Hec majus est miraculum, quam de nihilo mundum creasse, jure igitur exclamat Paulus, magnum esset hoc mysterium. Exercit. Ad. Ann. Eccles. Baron. p. 445.

benefactor ; since to eat the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper, is to be made partakers of his sacrifice offered up to God for us ; as to eat of the Jewish sacrifices under the law was to partake in the legal sacrifices themselves. The Corinthians, therefore, by assisting at the celebration of a similar feast in a religion hostile to Christ's, evidently profaned his institution : for *the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils*. Consequently, they could not lawfully partake of both together, the sacrifice of the true God, and the sacrifice of the Devils. *Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of the Devils*, says the Apostle in another passage in the same Epistle. The inference deducible thence is obvious. It is this, that the Lord's table and the table of the Devils being both federal rites, the same person could not be partaker of both.¹⁵ And with respect to the argument itself, its object is clearly to prove that the last supper is of the nature of a feast upon the sacrifice. But if we make the supposition, that it is the bare, naked and empty remembrance of Christ's death, we shall be entangled in a labyrinth from which all the ingenuity of the author of the Plain Account will not afford us a clue to escape ; since what can be more strange than the eating the flesh and drinking the blood of one, who is to be considered only in the light of a teacher or benefactor. Now this would be a preposterous conclusion, and a perfect confusion of ideas.—Yet to such extravagancies are thinking men hurried into, by their passionate fondness for every appendage of a favorite system.

Further, my general view of the nature and end of the Sacrament will receive additional confirmation from the sense in which the phrase, *the being guilty of the body and blood of Christ*, used by the same inspired writer, are

¹⁵ See Cudworth's True Notion of the Lord's Supper, p. 27, &c. &c.

so clearly and obviously intelligible. The Corinthians, as it appears here, had been guilty of making no distinction between the bread of the Sacrament and common bread; in other words, they used the Church more as a place of riot and intemperance, than as the house of God. Now, this indecent celebration, this confounding of the Lord's Supper with a common meal, this utter perversion of it, the Apostle calls the being guilty of the body and blood of the Lord; that is, guilty of irreverence towards it, and therefore *such a one eateth and drinketh damnation*¹⁶ *to himself*.—An accusation surely much heightened, were the Lord's supper only instituted to commemorate a deceased benefactor. But on the supposition, that Saint Paul considered that holy rite as a feast upon a sacrifice, and it seems from his opinion of the Corinthian profanation, that he could not view it as a simple memorial, or in any other light but that of being designed to set before his proselytes the merit of Christ's blood, by which their crucified Redeemer ratified the covenant when he *promised to be merciful to their iniquities, and remember them no more*; there is then abundant reason to approve of the Apostle's expression, the equity and justice of which, if the Sacrament were what its modern degraders have sought to make it, we might reasonably presume to question.

There is, however, another consideration of still higher importance for the purpose of fixing a precise idea of the nature of the holy ordinance in question, which is this, that if our Lord in his heavenly wisdom so

¹⁶ It may not be amiss, here, to caution the well-disposed and humble believer, not to understand the word damnation in too strong a sense: for, from what follows afterwards, it evidently should have been translated judgment, or condemnation; not to certain punishment in another world, but to those temporal judgments which shall be inflicted as God seeth fit.—By unworthily receiving the Lord's Supper, "We kindle God's wrath against us, we provoke him to plague us with divers diseases and sundry kinds of death."

passionately longed for this passover, that he desired only to live till he had kept it, and Saint Paul calls our Lord himself by that very name, *Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us*, then is the conclusion inevitable and just, that Christ's death was a real sacrifice; secondly, that he was our Paschal Lamb, by whose blood we are saved; and thirdly, that the memory of his death is to be observed by a feast frequently to be repeated by all Christians till the second advent; when his power over all flesh shall shine forth in its meridian glory, when the mystery of God shall be finished, and when we shall see and feel our interest in the glory of him, who is the bond of union between things in heaven, and things on earth.

From these considerations principally, and many others also which crowd on me, this conclusion has arisen in my mind, that simple and easy as the words appear to be in the four passages which recite the institution, yet they cannot be satisfactorily explained in any other way, than that of their allusion to a sacrifice, as without which, they will become obscure in their definition, and superfluous in their tendency: And which carries me on to this farther conclusion, that so far is that notion from perplexing the understanding of the unlearned Christian, the common objection against the interpretation which I have been advocating, I am persuaded the specific nature of this rite is only to be explained, and to be relieved at once from all mystery, by a reference to the manner and design of the Jewish sacrifices, where always those that ate of them, were accounted partakers of the altar. For though the words of the institution are thought so simple, and so much within the reach of popular apprehension, yet I scruple not to assert, that without this necessary explanation, there is no rite in the old pagan idolatry, or in the Mahomedan superstition, more recondite from ordinary conception, or more inextricably inconsistent. In this, what the Socinian may deem an equally strange opinion, let not the pious reader be scandalized at the

boldness of it; for it affirms no more than that which has been said by Bishop Cleaver, whose judgment upon this point is entitled by all of the orthodox persuasion to the greatest deference. "Yet surely no institution was ever more remote from common apprehension, if we are allowed to look no further than the letter; as some eagerly contend: no precept was ever more unexampled in the history of Jewish rites, or more unprecedented in all the variety of caprice, which distinguished the ceremonies of idolatrous worship. Whether we consider our Lord as a teacher or legislator, a friend or benefactor, still the command to *eat* the symbol of his body, and to *drink* the symbol of his blood, unconnected as it must stand in the ideas of those, who will admit no explication but what may be found in the strict phrase of the *institution*, will be allowed to be as strange as it is new."¹⁷

In making, however, the foregoing decision, I am perfectly aware that the concluding words of the institution, *do this in remembrance of me*, implies, to quote the words of another distinguished Prelate,¹⁸ "that the celebration was to be continually repeated; which it must be owned was not the practice in the feasts after the sacrifice, on which, as we say, this holy rite was modelled." But so far from this peculiar difference constituting any objection to the above conclusion, I am the rather inclined to think, that had this christian rite coincided essentially with any one species of sacrifice prescribed to the Jews, the impression of its dignity would be weakened, its object lowered, and its end darkened. For it ought never to be forgotten, that if it be a representation of the sacrifice

¹⁷ See First Discourse on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, p. 9.

¹⁸ See Warburton's Sermon on the Nature and End of the Lord's Supper, p. 45.

of the death of Christ, and this I flatter myself I have shewn with sufficient clearness, it should correspond exactly not only with one, but with all the sacrifices of the law; since our Lord was prefigured by them all.¹⁹ For in what is contained the full import and completion of the whole sacrificial system, but in the great sacrifice of Christ.

This representative rite therefore should shew, that Christ's body was, besides its other relations, a sin offering, a peace offering, and the true paschal lamb. And that it truly was, that which it professes to be, an epitome of every sacrifice of the old law, is to be demonstrated from our Lord being compared in the New Testament to every one of these sacrifices. The following texts I presume are sufficient to establish this point. *Sacrifice and offering, and burnt offering, and offering for sin, thou wouldst not—then said he, lo I come to do thy will. He taketh away the first, that he may establish the second; for by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified.—Christ also hath loved us, and hath given himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet smelling savour; which last expression denotes the sacrifices of peace offerings.—He is the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world; an offering and a sacrifice to God; set forth to be a propitiation, through faith in his blood.*

Now upon the supposition, that this rite is a sacrificial feast instituted in the memory of Christ's death, it will supply us with no mean and in-

¹⁹ "Whether he taketh it, as some of the ancient do, terming the Lord's Supper the Sacrament of the Altar, partly because it is a Sacrament of that lively sacrifice which Christ made for our sins upon the altar of the cross, and partly because that Christ's body, crucified for us, was that bloody sacrifice which the blood-shedding of all the beasts offered upon the altar, in the old laws, did prefigure and signifie unto us." See Disputation of Doctor Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, in Oxford, A. D. 1554, in Fox's Martyrs, vol. 3, p. 19.

decisive evidence, that it really conveys, as the Church expresses it, an inward and spiritual grace, and all the benefits at which sacrifice aimed, as pardon, favor, thanksgiving. For instance, if it imparts to us the benefits of a sin offering, namely, atonement²⁰ and forgiveness expressed in the words, *this is my body which is given for the remission of sins*, with the obliteration of our offences, it restores us to a power of receiving every communication of divine grace necessary to our future and eternal salvation. And if, besides the benefits of a peace offering, expressed in the words, *take, eat, this is my body*, then we have a positive proof, in virtue of the rite itself, that it places us in a state of acceptance with God. Moreover, if in addition to the benefits of a sin and peace offering, it be likewise a federal²¹ rite, and we drink the blood of the new covenant, we obviously apply to ourselves all the precious benefits²² procured by that

²⁰ "And touching these things, the Jews had sacrifices by divine appointment; sin offerings, or trespass offerings of the expiatory kinds, peace offerings for benefits received or expected." See Life of Whitgift, Append. to Book iii. No. 45.

²¹ Sykes, in his Essay on Sacrifices, p. 59, explains sacrifices "as federal rites," and describes them "as implying the entering into friendship with God, or the renewal of that friendship when broken by the violation of former stipulations." But though this writer is here said to be treading in the footsteps of Mede, Cudworth and Waterland, yet, in the course of their respective arguments to establish the Eucharist as a federal rite, be it remembered, that they never forget reverently to draw a broad and distinct line between the Creator and the Creature. "If any man," says Dr. Balguy, "chuse to call this transaction a federal rite, I see no harm in the expression; provided only we forget not the infinite distance between the parties to such a covenant." Charges, p. 307.

²² "But, in the Holy Supper, we have something more than an instructing sign. It is likewise a seal, ratifying to us the promises and graces of God. And first, it really seals all the promises of the covenant of grace which was formerly sealed to believers by the passover, and all those other sacrificial feasts to which they were admitted. Again, more especially, the promises of the New Testament, better than those of the Old, which the fathers were obliged to be satisfied with. And,

covenant, by which we have justification, sanctification, peace. Indeed, all may be comprehended under the compendious denomination of the Fruits of the Spirit, since without this grand benefit, which is unquestionably the Holy Ghost's in-dwelling or aid, we may in vain expect to begin, carry on, or complete the great work of our salvation. So just is the account given of the Holy Eucharist in the twenty-fifth article of our Church—"that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is not only a badge or token of a Christian man's profession, but rather a certain and sure witness and effectual sign of *Grace*, and God's good will towards us; by which he doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken but also strengthen and confirm our faith in him."

in this respect, the Supper of the Christians greatly excels the Passover. *This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins*, in order to a real and not typical expiation of sins, blotting out the hand-writing, quenching our thirst, and enjoying a fulness of delight in perfect liberty. In fine, it most especially seals some *saving blessings*, both of *this life* and of *that to come*." See Witsius on the Lord's Supper, Book iv. chap. xvii.

THE CONCLUSION.

I HAVE thus attempted to give a just scriptural exposition of the design and end of the Holy Eucharist,¹ and to protect it from the assaults of that false philosophy, which, under the delusive guise of free enquiry, so often leads to impious presumption, or complete scepticism.

The name of Hoadly will be respected by the unfriended scholar, for his munificent patronage to the learned; and there are many who conceive that his writings have been more instrumental in scattering the blessings of religious knowledge and moral improvement among the middle classes of our species, than those of any other Prelate of his own, or of the present age. He, then, who ventures to accuse him of dogmatism, and irreverence for the first of Christian rites, and of concealing a mass of dangerous errors under the fair semblance of simplicity, runs the risk of being treated as an enemy to that benign spirit of moderation, equally approved by reason and religion.

¹ As this word has so often occurred, it may not be amiss here to say, that it is equivalent to an expression of *Gratitude*. εὐχαριστία σημαίνει τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐχαριστίας ἔργον. Εὐχαριστία καλεῖται.—Vide Origen contra Celsum. It was therefore called by many ancient writers, *Εὐχαριστία*, or the *Sacrament of Thanksgiving* or *Gratitude*.

Now undoubtedly moderation is an excellent quality, and has done much for the interests of truth and piety. But may not a cold phlegmatic indifference pass for it? Is it so strange to find on a closer inspection, that this very moderate way of thinking is chiefly recommended by those, whose imperfect and circumscribed view of the Christian scheme requires, that not an atom of honest zeal should be left among us? True moderation can easily distinguish between things of much and of little importance, and therefore in the latter is indifferent. But to avoid every appearance of warmth,—to quench that fervency of spirit, (one of the best criterions of sincerity, in upholding some great and momentous truth, which we are unwilling to part with, because we hope to be saved by it) from the cowardly apprehension of being charged with the want of temper, want of enlargement of mind, or want of liberality of sentiment, is to be fairly conquered and overpowered by indifference, assuming the name of moderation, and to withstand every cogent motive, to think and act as the follower and disciple of Jesus Christ.—The characteristic therefore of true zeal is the firm resistance of error; and such a principle can never be incompatible with that kindness of humanity, which infuses into the heart of the real Christian as much pity for his mistaken brethren, as superior earnestness to persuade them implicitly to submit their understandings to the authority of the written word.

What sincere dispenser of the word, or what faithful believer in the great mysterious truths of our religion, then, is there, who whenever he considers how peculiarly annexed to the Eucharist are the privileges of pardon and sanctification, how calculated it is in its real design to inspire us with the full soul of virtue and religion, and what animating encouragement to divine obedience it offers to the Christian, and what comfortable promises of divine grace to correct his errors, assist his frailties, and invigorate his resolutions, can refrain from feeling and expressing

a more than common indignation to see those primary and most important ends of this sacred rite frittered away by thin-spun sophistical interpretations, and plausible pretences of preferring truth to intricate and bigotted systems?

By too many, however, it is deemed irrational and unscriptural to conclude, that the blessings of sanctification and pardon are peculiarly annexed to the Eucharist, because God can convey his grace and pardon by other channels, as it shall seem best to his wise and beneficent providence. It is true, *God can take the stony heart out of the flesh, and give in its place an heart of flesh.* He can touch us with a lowly sense of our unworthiness whenever he pleases, and destroy at once every seed of corruption. But still, when healing and reviving virtue is put into the waters of the sanctuary, then to embarrass the mind with enquiries of other methods of cure being more preferable, discovers that sort of presumptuous doubt which is very unbecoming a mortal being. For though none who admit the gracious influence of the Spirit on the heart, will deny that it can improve our corrupt nature, on many other occasions besides the worthy receiving of the Eucharist, yet no doubt or uncertainty remains to the Christian, that the effusions of the Spirit are most plenteous at the time² we celebrate the Holy Communion, as here are the appointed means, and it is egregious folly to suppose, they would be appointed, without a sufficient reason, of conveying to our hearts a participation of the divine nature,³ and also for a confirmation of our title

² "God and Christ," observes that original thinker, the late Abraham Tucker, "are more particularly present in the Sacrament solely by the greater clearness of our optics to discern them by means of Grace." See *Light of Nature*.

³ "In the institution of this Sacrament, Christ manifested," says a pious and celebrated

to the bliss which is everlasting. No unprejudiced man, I think, can remember the declaration of St. Paul, that he received the institution of the communion in particular, not from the rest of the Apostles, or jointly together with them, but from Christ alone, and refuse his assent to the divine grace peculiarly accompanying the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. But, alas, the glorious things represented there, are by the greatest part of the world looked upon only as matters of doubtful speculation, and not as indisputable truths. The surprising efficacy of the Eucharist in exciting in us that vivid faith, *which purifieth the heart, worketh by love, and overcometh the world—and that hope, which mounts with eagles wings to heaven—and that charity, which is the bond of perfectness*, many know just as much of, who yet profess themselves Christians in earnest, as a blind man really knows of colours, or a deaf man of sounds; or at least no more than to have a secret bias in their minds, that fanaticism alone makes such to be its tendencies, its objects, and its results.

One, however, the general fashion of whose life bore nothing of the stamp of fanaticism in it, and whose logical warfare with infidels and deists tended rather to give the mind a certain argumentative insensibility, if I may so express myself, has touched on the present benefits of the Sacrament in a manner that shews his full conviction how much can be easily effected by the immediate agency of God's Holy Spirit in perfect consistency with our rational powers.

Writer, "first, his almighty Power, secondly, his infinite Wisdom, and thirdly, his unspeakable Charity. First, his Power is manifested in making the symbols to be the instruments of conveying himself to the spirit of the Receiver: He nourishes the Soul with bread, and feeds the body with a Sacrament; he makes the body spiritual by his Graces there ministered, and makes the spirit to be united to his Body by a participation of the Divine Nature." See Bishop Taylor's Discourse xix. of the Institution and Reception of the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, p. 471.

“ Having now,” says Bishop Warburton, “ so largely enquired into the specific nature of this holy rite, we are enabled, in very few words, to shew (which we proposed as the principal end of the enquiry) what these benefits are which we receive at the *Lord's Table*; and what the obligations are, which we lie under, of frequenting it.⁴

“ Christ by the *sacrifice* of himself upon the cross, purchased the *redemption* of mankind: And this rite being by its nature commemorative thereof, as it is a feast upon sacrifice, each partaker receives, of consequence, the seal of pardon, and of restoration to his lost inheritance. But as this operates only on the terms of repentance and newness of life, the gift would be defeated, by being bestowed on a condition which our perverse nature so much opposes, was not this nature softened and subdued by the power of grace; that promised blessing, peculiar to the gospel dispensation. Now, as the influence of the Holy Spirit constitutes the most intimate communion of *God with Man*, what time can we conceive so highly sanctified for the reception of it, as that in which we renew our federal union with our Lord and Master in his last Supper; called by St. Paul, the communion of his body and blood.”

Now as the truly pious and learned entertain such impressions of the saving grace bestowed on the worthy communicant in and by the Sacrament,⁵ remission of sins must follow, since it is a contradiction of

⁴ The Nature and End of the Lord's Supper.

⁵ Nemo dubitavit, in sacra Eucharistia fidelibus dari *προσθικην ζωης*, is the expression of the illustrious Grotius in one of his epistles to Gerrard Vossius.—“ The holy Sacrament,” says another eminent writer, “ is the pledge of glory and the earnest of immortality; for when we have received him who hath overcome Death, and henceforth dies no more, he becomes to us like the tree of life

terms to suppose, that we can be objects of divine grace or favour, while we remain exposed to God's displeasure. But let me not be understood as saying, that the pardon of sins conferred by the Eucharist cannot be destroyed by any subsequent acts of misconduct. The sinner after communion may sink again into his abject grovelling condition, and without a sincere and hearty repentance he may fail of receiving final pardon. But as it is the clear and undisputed doctrine of the Gospel, that Christ came into the world to save sinners, it is surely not indulging too unlicensed and wild a fancy, to inculcate the firm belief, that the dying, as their state precludes them from the possibility of a relapse, may solace their hearts with the exalting hopes of the Eucharist conveying a full pardon and total acquittance from guilt. That there is no crime indeed in the opinion of the Church which, on true repentance, will not be pardoned, is to be inferred from the well known circumstance of her appointing a clergyman to attend the worst of malefactors that die by the hand of the executioner; and if he gives signs of repentance, sorrow, humiliation, contrition, at the thought of his past crimes, she so far relies on the acceptance of these, as to admit him to the Sacrament.

Now between Baptism and the Lord's Supper the analogy is obvious; for while the former Sacrament is not only a sign of profession, but of giving a new birth to righteousness and purity, the latter is made the vehicle of maintaining that spiritual life which is begun at baptism. Indeed, the connection between these two rites is so strongly marked, that to him who admits the washing away of original sin to be the consequence of the first holy ordinance, I do not see how he can refuse his

in paradise; and the consecrated symbols are like the seeds of an eternal duration, springing up in us to eternal life, nourishing our spirits with grace, which is but the prologue and the infancy of glory, and differs from it only as a child from a man." Bishop Tayler, p. 474.

consent to the second conferring pardon of sins afterwards, unless he holds that man after baptism attains that state of unerring and unspotted rectitude, as to render the Eucharist unnecessary. But that this perfection is incompatible with human frailty, his own experience and reason daily convince him ; even if Scripture did not speak with such emphatic force on this point. *There is not a just man upon earth, who doeth good and sinneth not.* In my poor opinion then, their polemical skill and erudition are sadly misapplied, that in opposition to such words as these, *verily, verily I say unto you, except you eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you :—Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life*—words, affording matter of delight as well as of awe to those⁶ who understand them of the eucharistical bread and wine—can, when the heart requires every well-spring of comfort to be opened to it, seek at such a time to deprive it of the unspeakable consolations of the cross of Christ ; merely because the united powers of genius and science are at a loss to account for that mysterious commerce of the soul with its Maker, which must ever present such an overwhelming idea to the true Christian.

But it is the triumphant reply of those, whose perverse train of reasoning would seem to restrict infinite wisdom to their way of extending essential mercy to penitents—it is, I say, the constant language of the depreciators of the Sacrament, there is no express mention to be found in Holy Writ, that present⁷ benefits, present grace, present remission of sins

⁶ I am perfectly aware, that great authorities here militate against each other ; but to the man of plain understanding, I think nothing can be more clear, than that the sixth chapter of St. John may be, in most of its passages, properly interpreted of the Sacrament.

⁷ There is a misfortune, I shall begin to think, in being too acute, when I find Dr. Balguy,

are conferred by the worthily partaking of the Sacrament. No—nor is there any such expression to be found in the Scriptures as Trinity in Unity; but is this an argument⁸ for the pious believer to renounce that Christian Doctrine, when he knows that the Church proposes it as an object of his faith in that sense which other words of Scriptures will clearly justify. Unquestionably not;—he leaves, therefore, to those who are most prone to dispute what is above their comprehension, the necessity for such a doctrine, while he humbly acquiesces in the truth of it, and thus escapes the coldness of sceptical indifference, or that sophistical abuse of the understanding which sinks at last into the infidelity of atheism. In short, during a long succession of ages, the momentous doctrine of remission of sins was considered as a present benefit of the Eucharist, until Bishop Hoadly, early in the eighteenth century, first set an example of blameable freedom and boldness of discussion, in bringing forth his celebrated hypothesis,—an hypothesis for which no better argument can be produced than the authority of his own fallible reason, but which, in the estimation of its author, was strong enough to overturn the truth of every principle that our Church has asserted on this subject, and every principle she has deduced from it. For in her sublime communion service we are

who has been so often styled the acutest reasoner of his age, telling us to observe, that the benefits of the Sacrament are not *present*, but *future*. Discourses, Charge vii. p. 312.

⁸ An objection, just as reasonable as this, has been made against holding the Lord's Supper to be a Sacrament, on the grounds of that word not being a scriptural term. There is a paper, (in Styrpe's Life of Archbishop Whitgift, Append. p. 93,) signed by one Anthony Randall, Minister of Lydford, of the family of Love, where, among other curious things, it is said, he never thought the Lord's Supper and Baptism to be Sacraments, because he had not read the word Sacrament in the holy Scriptures. "He alloweth the administration of Sacraments, because the Magistrate hath established it." It is worthy of remark, that this silly sophism has not wanted its advocates among the Quakers. See Barclay's Apology, Prop. ii. Sect. 2.

instructed to pray, *that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, and our souls washed by his most precious blood; and again, that we and all thy whole Church may obtain remission of sins, beseeching the Divine Majesty not to weigh our sins, but to pardon our offences; a petition which decidedly has no other reference than to what we have just done in partaking of the Eucharist as believing and penitent sinners.*

With some shew of reason, however, it has been maintained, that repeated forgiveness by a repeated participation of the Eucharist, is so far from operating as a powerful incentive to true religion, that it is quite destructive of its spirit, and subversive of its objects. Now if it were of the very essence of the Sacrament to cancel our worst sins by the mere recollection of an historical event, or by the mere performance of a formal rite, I should by no means dispute that position. To support such a doctrine, would indeed be the wanderings of fanaticism and the dreams of superstition. The Sacrament ceases to be a Sacrament to him, upon whose mind impressions of deep contrition for his past and present sins, and hearty resolutions of amendment, are not equally clear and manifest,⁹ and which shall lead the heart to the feelings and practice of piety. Nor does any such person dwell in Christ, or Christ in him, though he eats and drinks the eucharistic elements; since according to the twenty-ninth article of our Church, "the wicked and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally press with their teeth, as St. Augustine saith, the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, yet in no wise are they

⁹ Without admitting the force of any argument I have yet seen, for the repeal of the Sacramental test, and I have heard and read of many, I fully subscribe, however, to this sentiment.—

"If there be a man who comes to qualify himself for a place upon the Test Act, and upon the Church Service, as an idle, insignificant parade, to him God is no more present at the Communion Table than at the Gaming Table." Tucker's Light of Nature.

partakers of Christ." To speak with strict propriety, no man can be said to partake in this affecting rite, whatsoever may be the opinion he entertains of its mystic nature, who secretly resolves to make vice his choice, while he outwardly seems sincere in his purposes of reformation, and who can so far brave the dangers of final impenitence, as to want even the inclination to declare in the inimitable language of the Communion Service, *that he earnestly repents of his past offences, is heartily sorry for them, that the remembrance of them is grievous unto him, and the burden is intolerable.*

Now, here we may safely appeal to common sense to decide the point, that no remission is granted to that person, who voluntarily pollutes himself again with those sins, from which, when he comes to the Lord's Table, he makes a show of renouncing. But the fact is, that bad as we are, and prone as we are on every slight temptation to step into the paths of vice, there is no one who can treat the word of God with so obstinate and obdurate a scorn and contempt, as to confess sin without sorrow, to give thanks without gratitude, to embrace the offers of mercy without faith in the mercy of God, and to be indifferent to the dreadful possibility of *having a portion with unbelievers*, ever takes the Sacrament, unless from that aggravated folly and impiety, of which I should hope there were few instances in existence. No, such men revolt at the bare idea of the Sacrament being the instituted means of purification and salvation. They live and die settled and rivetted in error. For if instead of openly slighting and contemning the Sacrament, or believing at the most that it generates only a few barren and lifeless truths, they could once bring themselves to think, that remission of sins was the inestimable benefit of that holy rite, they could not then long hold out against the calls of God's Holy Spirit, who penetrates into the inmost recesses of the soul, refines it from dross and corruption, and so opens the eyes and prepares the

heart for instruction, as to make the proud self-sufficiency of reason prostrate itself before the sublime mysteries of revelation. For without this renouncing of the self-flattery of presumption—without feeling an utter incapacity to work out our own salvation—without cherishing that deep humility, the stock from which every other virtue must shoot, we are only, whatever the world may call us, but nominal disciples of our great Master, in whom was embodied the true and living form of humility.—Wanting then this moral quality, we want the very essence of Christianity.

But in vain do we tell these things to the world. In vain do we shew an honest zeal in a holy cause. Some think no more of them than they do of the tales of their nurses; others, from vanity, never think of them at all; and others, from the proud independence of their understanding, will submit to no things but what they cannot account for, and so are equally deprived of the benefits of Christianity. If this were not the deplorable fact, should we see, in persons of the higher spheres of life, in those who are born to rank and opulence, that shocking vanity, at which true piety may well stand aghast, of rising superior to the weakness and simplicity of believing Christians. Should we have to witness in those children of grace, that profligate intrepidity of mind, which rejects truths of the strongest evidence for the sake of rejecting them, and ranks those only as enlightened Ministers of the Church who preach Seneca instead of Jesus Christ?—The libertine glories in his vices; but should any of the class just alluded to happen to conceive that Christianity is something more than a mere fable, invented to promote the tranquillity of the State, and that its denunciations absolutely mean what they literally profess,—earth is not more different from heaven, light more different from darkness, than that temper of mind, which should incline them to think, that their reason would not be half eclipsed in openly as

well as latently glorying in their faith, and thus giving to religion, with a noble elevation of spirit, its most operative support. It is certainly not to be denied, that we sometimes find them in our Churches; but then it is not on the christian principle that they have sins of their own to lament, mercies to acknowledge, and forgiveness to implore, but on the pagan principle, that the religion of the multitude is entitled to external respect, for its influence in over-ruling their dangerous passions. Now if the things contained in the Gospel are true, they are tremendously true; and, be it ever remembered, that it was to confound the pride of science, the presumption of lettered scepticism, and the fastidiousness of rank and station, that it pleased the Eternal Wisdom to select men of the lowest understandings as propagators of the Christian faith.¹⁰—Yet of all the sacrifices the world ever made to truth, the admitting of this fact I am afraid will be the last, as it will be the greatest.

¹⁰ Moved by the force of some such considerations as these, Dr. Johnson, on his death bed, as we learn from a recent publication, made the following urgent, and what the fashionable world may style preposterous, request to his friend, Sir Joshua Reynolds, "that he should carefully read the Scriptures, and that he should abstain from using his pencil on the sabbath day."—To both of which requests, one is pleased to be informed that Sir Joshua gave a willing assent. See Northcote's Memoirs of Sir Joshua Reynolds, p. 315. Another friend of the immortal Author of the Rambler, and who has not long paid the debt of nature, has left an example of real piety to the higher ranks of life, which many among them would do well to remember in recording his superior mental endowments, and which the friends of religion will never fail to cite as eminently illustrating the just remark of Paley, "that virtue and Christianity cast their deepest foundations in knowledge." The Biographer of Mr. Windham tells us, that a little time before his death, he attended at the Charter-house, and received the Sacrament, which was administered to him privately by the Rev. Dr. Fisher, the Master of that Institution. See some account of Mr. Windham's Life, prefixed to the first volume of his Speeches, by Thomas Amyot, Esq. p. 122. Now, from this act, performed so close to the setting of his life, we need not be told, what were the conclusions of this truly great man of the *nature and end of the holy Eucharist*.

Nor do I hold with the opinion of those who assert, that repeated forgiveness upon repentance is so far from producing any improvement to the soul, that it tends rather to make it callous to all virtuous and religious impressions. For does not every failure become a warning to avoid similar relapses? Is not the mind naturally instigated by the hope of pardon to acquire greater firmness and resolution against all future temptations? Whereas, if the wicked were excluded from the prospect of forgiveness on repentance, would not they, enslaved and fettered by long continued vicious habits, at last arrive at that confirmed state of wilful unrepented sins, which cuts them off from all the rewards, but exposes them to all the punishments of the Gospel.

But the short argument is, that instead of a man growing more careless and inattentive in consequence of the forgiveness of his past sins, the very consideration that he may be interrupted by death before he could again become a worthy receiver, cannot fail of bringing him to understand the true value of his existence.—*He will take good heed to his ways;*—he will feel more than ever the necessity of self-examination.¹¹ Remembering how grieved and burdened he was by his former sins and imperfections, he will endeavour to fulfil the law through the whole of his conduct; and to make the cultivation of piety and virtue his leading objects.

¹¹ The Author of the Plain Account says, “Examination is not a duty necessary previous to the Lord’s Supper, and the *whole affair*, of eating and drinking unworthily, is confined to the frame of our minds, and our behaviour *at the very time* of our performance of this religious duty.” But what Scripture critics are there, excepting those trained up in the Hoadlyan school, or who entertain a lurking partiality for it, but will not interpret these words of St. Paul—“Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of the bread and drink of the cup,”—into a charge of entering into a rigid and impartial examination of former sins and wickednesses.

Knowing that he must stand accountable for every evil consequence which may result from the indulgence of disorderly habits, and malevolent or revengeful passions; that alone will render him diligently watchful to restrain and subdue them. For though alarming as is the condition of those who make slight of *having no part with Christ*, yet belief without obedience, he has the words of an Apostle to assure him, is still more alarming. *It had been better for us not to have known the way of righteousness, than, after we have known it, to turn from the holy commandment delivered to us.* Not only then his words, but even his thoughts will be more guarded—all will have a reference to eternity.

This conscientious circumspection of himself will teach him to cherish every tender and sympathetic feeling to others. While he remembers therefore the precept of the Apostle, he studies to govern himself by it. *If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar.* Can he then look up to his Creator as the Father of all mercies, and the God of all comforts, and enter society with unkind and unfriendly sentiments, or feel a disposition to wrap himself up in thoughtless or hardened insensibility to the wants of others, if they have the smallest tendency to involve him in trouble or uneasiness. On the contrary, he will have affections strong enough to pierce beyond the narrow circle of his own concerns, *he will do good unto all he hath opportunity*, and especially *unto those who are of the household of faith*; nay, his good-will towards his fellow creatures will assume so warm a philanthropy, that while others rage against successful iniquity, or review it with scarce any other sentiment than that of envy, he will pity and pray for all who remain in darkness, profligacy, and profaneness. Here indeed is the triumph of Religion. She can make benevolence rise in the bosoms of the worthy receiver of the Eucharist, from individuals to the community, and teach them to feel it the glorious and distinguishing prerogative of their natures, to

have not a barren affection for the species, but a desire to promote their real good.¹²

Shall we then be said to bend our necks to the yoke of theological slavery, in viewing as the greatest of all terrestrial benefits, an institution, whose admirable characteristic it is,—to break down the stateliness of pride and petulance,—to destroy the idolatry of avarice,—to stop the lust of revenge, injustice, envy, and the bitter rage of rivalry and contention,—

¹² All these things, and a due consideration of the several important particulars contained under them, should therefore convince us of the *absolute necessity of frequent communion*, the qualifications and dispositions for which our catechism has justly reduced to three, Repentance, Faith and Charity. Indeed, that the often receiving the Sacrament is the most conducive to the glory of God, and our own happiness, seems to me, indisputable. Yet some persons, and religious ones too, have disputed this principle, on the ground, that to receive but seldom, is to testify more reverence to these holy mysteries. Now, certainly, the commemoration of the Paschal lamb, of which the Eucharist was the prefigurative representation, or accustomed type, the law ordained but once a year. Yet these words of our Lord, *as oft as ye shall eat this bread*, obviously seem to appoint a more frequent celebration of the Eucharist. And the reason for which, is beyond doubt taken for the inestimably great benefits which his death confers upon us. It was the practice of the primitive church to receive the Sacrament, at least, says Bingham, *every Lord's day*. See *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, vol. 6, p. 910. That our own Church at the reformation was anxious to dispose her members to frequent communion, is evident, from its being ordered in the first Common Prayer Book of King Edward VI. that upon Wednesdays and Fridays the Minister shall go up to the Lord's Table, and there begin the Service appointed for the Communion, though they were not to communicate with him. See Wheatley on the Common Prayer, p. 324, 325. From which injunction, I presume it will be granted, there was no backwardness on the part of the Church, whatever there might have been in the people, to have the Sacrament often administered. In my opinion, it admits of no more doubt, whether we should communicate often, than whether we should pray often or seldom. So highly, indeed, do I think of the duty of frequent and regular communion, and so far do I consider it from tending to lower the reverence of the Sacrament, that I hold the frequent reception of it to be a security against vice, even in those, whose bad and doubtful situation of affairs would otherwise often tempt them to commit injustice, though without the prospect of advancing their worldly prosperity.

to suppress that complaining tone of thought, which, though so often regarded as superior feeling and sensibility, is, however, unallied to the humble but holy spirit of resignation; that reposes with confidence in the promises of God—and in a word,—to wean the mind not from one particular species of sin,—but to inspire it with an horror of every evil thought and action,—and to transfuse into our bosoms that brotherly love for our fellow-creatures, which, while it becomes us as men—as christians,—opens the heart to the noblest and purest affections, and gives us upon earth, the temper of heaven, finally enables us so to overcome the temptations of the world, that we feel, as by some secret inspiration, our souls enter on the wings of faith into those mansions of consummate bliss, where the good for ever rejoice in the presence of their Heavenly Father?—Are we, I say, from an inordinate spirit of vanity, which for the sake of its own poor and transient fame, or the applause of the rationalizing Socinian, is willing to hazard the most sacred interests of human kind,—to be robbed of comforts¹³ and supports, transcending all expression, and passing all understanding?¹⁴

¹³ They who dispute the notion of present and immediate pardon of sin annexed here to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, on the grounds of its being unsanctioned by the passages of Scripture which relate to it, and of its holding forth an encouragement to vice and a late repentance, I would earnestly recommend to peruse Bishop Cleaver's third Discourse on this subject, p. 76—84; where they will find that point most fully and forcibly discussed.

¹⁴ “It is on all sides plainly confest,” says the learned and pious Hooker, “that this Sacrament is a true and real participation of Christ, who thereby imparteth himself, even his whole intire person, as a *Mystical Head*, unto every Soul that receiveth him, and that every such Receiver doth thereby incorporate or unite himself unto Christ, as a *Mystical Member* of him, yea of them also whom he acknowledgeth to be his own. Secondly, that to whom the Person of Christ is thus communicated, to them he giveth by the same Sacrament his holy Spirit to sanctifie them, as it sanctifieth him which is their Head. Thirdly, that *what merit, force, or virtue soever there is in his Sacrificed Body and Blood*, we freely, fully, and wholly have it by this Sacrament.

The time is come, therefore, when duty demands, and requires of every true Minister of the Church to speak boldly out; that what is right should not only be made known, but prevalent; that what is evil, should be detected and exposed. In other words,—that novelty of opinion should not be the road to reputation, without first considering whither those opinions lead;—whether such be the models which it becomes us most to study, whose opinions have such a decisive tendency to create doubt, and to disseminate infidelity. Let us not then be afraid to censure the presumption of a theologian, (for if it was not that, it must have been the grossest ignorance and incapacity, since what he advanced was in direct opposition to the Church and to the Scripture on which the Church has founded its authority,) who, by a forced unnatural criticism, could seek to wrest and torture the sublime, the affecting, the comfortable oracles of truth, to a sense that strips the Holy Eucharist of all that is essential, awful, or consoling in it, from the vain expectation of being thought wiser than all the wise and good men who have wrote before him on this subject, and thus deeming himself as it were too wise even *to be taught of God*.

We may, however, flatter ourselves with this hope, that as much zeal, and why should I not add talent, will be shewn in exciting men to regain a proper veneration for that sacred rite, as can be evinced in de-

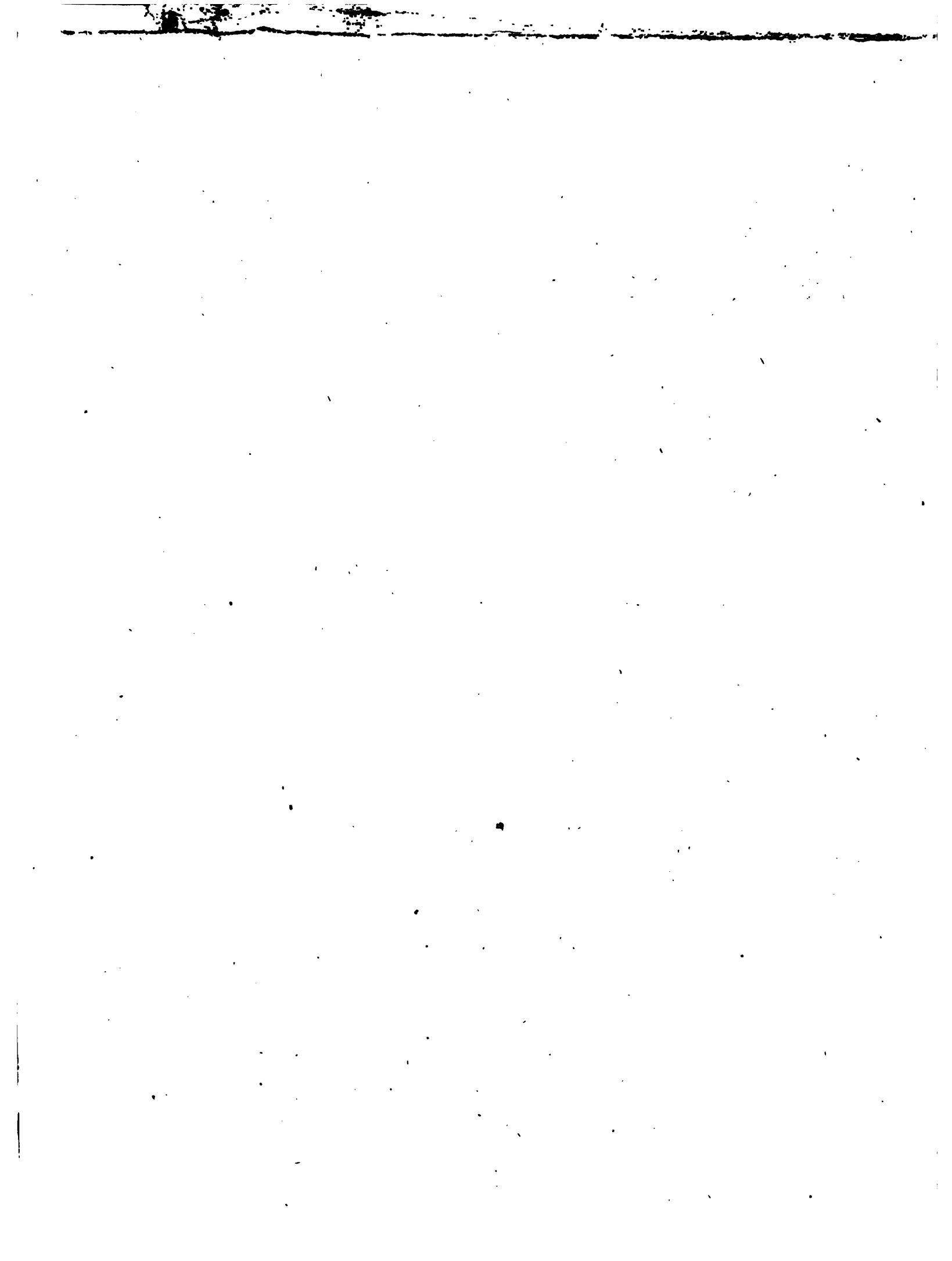
Fourthly, *that the effect thereof in us is a real transmutation of our Soul and Bodies, from sin to righteousness, from death and corruption to immortality and life.* Fifthly, that because the Sacrament being of itself but a corruptible and earthly creature, must needs be thought an unlikely instrument to work such admirable effects in man, we are therefore to rest ourselves altogether upon the strength of his *glorious Power*, who is able, and will bring to pass, that the bread and cup which he giveth us shall be truly the thing he promiseth." See Ecclesiastical Polity, Book v. p. 238, 237.

grading its dignity ; and that while the enemies of our Church have so extravagantly panegyricized the Plain Account for the sake of its alliance with Socinian principles, in the majority of the orthodox persuasion, will be found that serious concern for established opinions, and that solidity of judgment which shall forbid us to give scope to airy speculation, or to despise the beaten track which more sober spirits have been content to tread, even at the expence of losing the fame of producing testimonies unthought of, and arguments totally unknown, in the fair and complete establishment of evangelical truth.

THE END

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